

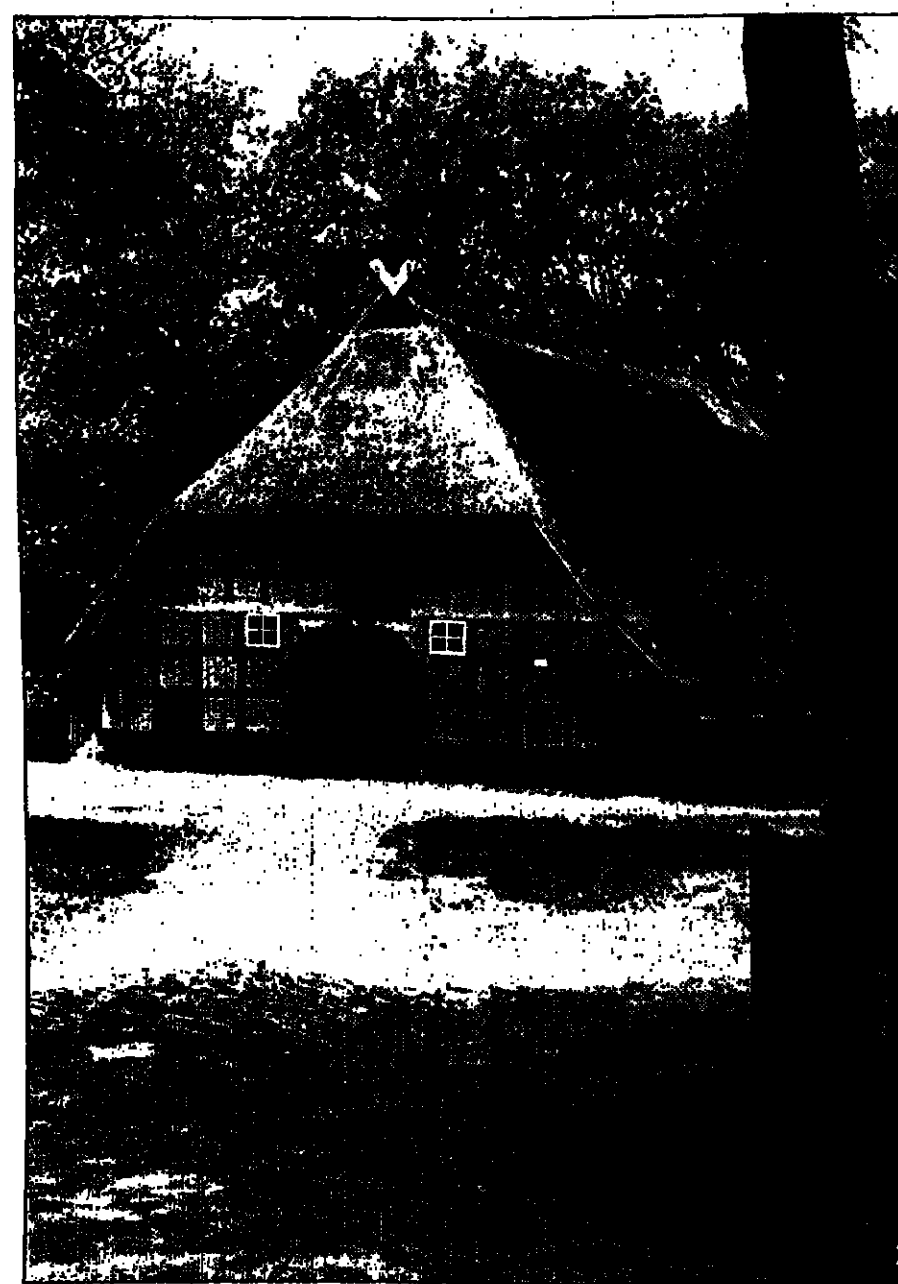
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- 1 Brunswick
- 2 An old Lüneburg Heath farmhouse
- 3 The Harz
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The German Tribune

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One blow after another — detente on the ropes

MINISTER STATE AFFAIRS

The year of hope in world affairs that began so promisingly with the first Reagan-Gorbachov summit looks like ending in a vale of disappointment. Far from embarking on the new era of realistic detente conjured in Bonn by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher in particular, the superpowers again seem intent on pursuing a policy of bristling confrontation.

Disarmament amounts to no more than words and the United States is even jeopardising the few remaining arms control agreements.

The 8 January 1985 agreement to end the arms race on earth and forestall one in space now sounds like a message from a distant star.

Little is left of the Geneva proposals for comprehensive cooperation to nip in the bud conflict between East and West and to enable the two sides to come to terms on a basis of equality.

It very much looks as though the superpowers are finding it extremely hard to change their spots.

Grim Soviet behaviour after the Chernobyl accident was anything but a fresh start in international cooperation.

The gruff announcement by the US government that it will no longer abide by Salt 2, a strategic arms limitation agreement not ratified but so far largely heeded, can for the time being be seen only as a serious setback.

A setback it is even if Washington's sole intention in scrapping Salt 2 is to give a fillip to a new approach to arms control.

Spring is silent in East-West affairs and skies are heavily overcast for the Western alliance too.

Yet 1986 got off to a good start with careful and fruitful coordination of a Nato response to the Soviet leader's disarmament proposals.

There has since been one blow after another in relations between America and its European allies:

- the US bombing of Libya,
- the farm exports clash between America and Europe,
- the Salt 2 dispute at the Nato conference in Halifax, Nova Scotia,
- and the US veto at the Berne CSCE conference on human contacts.

It has been a succession of disputes that has seemed to cast the winds good intentions of transatlantic consultation and a mutual say in the course of events.

The frustrated and bewildered Europeans must take good care not to part company with America, let alone to aim at salvaging detente with the East against America's will.

No superpower will allow itself to be isolated, particularly on East-West relations. Besides, it would be dangerously one-sided to see America as solely to blame for this disappointing trend.

Events would surely have taken a different course if Mr Gorbachov's imaginative January offensive had been taken up by the Soviet Union at any one of the existing disarmament conferences.

But they weren't. At present there are few signs, if any, of detente from the East — propaganda apart.

In the wake of Chernobyl, which showed Soviet concern for international relations in a poor light, Moscow has sought to batten down the hatches and pursued a dogmatic approach.

The latest Soviet attempt to undermine the status of Berlin can hardly be seen as a token of good-neighbourly relations and why, one wonders, is GDR leader Erich Honecker now evidently unable to visit Bonn this year?

As for disarmament, there can be no disputing the fact of Soviet violations of Salt 2; all that can be questioned is how serious the breaches have been.

This all in no way detracts from the anxiety Europeans share over unpleasant developments in their own house, to use Mr Gorbachov's term.

President Reagan seems intent on amending the Geneva summit concept by abandoning what Secretary of State Shultz calls self-restraint in arms control and banking more on a policy of strength.

This change of course may be due in part to the Congressional elections to be held in November, but it is no less alarming than Soviet stubbornness at the Geneva, Vienna and Stockholm conferences.

A further complication in relations between the Western countries is that mutual misunderstanding or disappointment (over Libya, for instance) no longer account satisfactorily for the shortcomings that have arisen in transatlantic relations.

Alienation and clashes of interest are particularly apparent in connection with East-West cooperation in keeping with the CSCE Final Act, or Helsinki accords.

In this sector, the Europeans are de-



A Kiwi in Bonn. New Zealand's Prime Minister, David Lange (left) with Chancellor Kohl. (Photo: Sven Simon)

pendent on minor but practical moves toward progress in cooperation — and they are floundering at present.

The Americans in contrast, far from the East-West border and even further removed from its practical ramifications, insist on all or nothing and on the true teachings of human rights.

How much importance can be attached in these circumstances to the somewhat laboured offer of cooperation with the East by Western Foreign Affairs?

Herr Genscher courageously called it the "Signal of Halifax," emphasising the future, as if to say that once disarmament terms were negotiated Salt 2 would no longer matter, merely limiting current potential.

Yet not even Herr Genscher, the West's longest-serving Foreign Minister, can change the reality, which is that the superpowers have dug their heels in.

Bonn's call for a further Reagan-Gorbachov summit to be held this year sounds very much like an adjuration and is arguably intended partly for domestic consumption.

The German government is well aware that Nato missiles and longer conscription are a high price voters are being asked to pay for security.

If a spring thaw in East-West ties doesn't come soon German voters may find it too high a price.

Thomas Meyer
(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 4 June 1986)

New Zealand's PM puts his case to Europe

New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange is touring Europe: his itinerary shows where the trouble lies.

He is visiting Brussels and The Hague, Bonn and Stockholm, London and Dublin. But he is not going to Paris.

In reply to a question he said there would be no contact with French authorities on his tour, although, as he stressed in Bonn, New Zealand wanted to live in peace with France.

But New Zealand and other South Pacific states could never accept the continuation of French nuclear tests in the region.

Because France was so anxious to cordon off the test area French agents had sunk the Greenpeace ship *Rainbow Warrior* at her berth in New Zealand. One person was killed. Some of the culpables had yet to be brought to book.

In talks with Mr Lange the German Foreign Minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, expressed the hope that tension between New Zealand and France might be eased.

It has been intensified by France's harsh response to Mr Lange's refusal to release two French agents serving prison sentences in New Zealand for their part in the sinking of the *Rainbow Warrior*.

The French government has imposed massive restrictions on imports of New Zealand farm produce, and this clash makes the talks between the Lange government and the European Community on market access guarantees for New Zealand farm produce even tougher.

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■ WORLD AFFAIRS

Genscher in bid to get European and Arab countries talking again

Since the US bombing of Libya more attention has been paid to the Euro-Arab dialogue.

Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, a prominent advocate of trans-Mediterranean dialogue, flew to Algiers immediately after the US air raid.

He conferred with Algerian leaders on the possibility of mediation between the Americans and Libyans and between the West in general and the Arab world.

Algeria, like Kuwait, is seen as a mediator in disputes between Arab states and between Arabs and others, such as Iran or the West.

After his talks in Algiers Herr Genscher flew to Belgrade for brief consultations with President Assad of Syria.

That seemed urgently advisable, given that Syria is considered to be one of the mainstays of both Middle Eastern and international terrorism, especially as President Assad, unlike Colonel Gaddafi, is felt to be a predictable, realistic politician.

It soon transpired that the prevailing atmosphere in Damascus no longer seemed to favour terrorism, at least not officially.

This change of mind will admittedly have been due more to the US bombardment of Libya than to Herr Genscher's meeting with President Assad.

The Euro-Arab dialogue was repeatedly mentioned before the US bombing of Tripoli and Benghazi. It was to be conducted with Morocco and Tunisia, Arab states that can definitely be classified as moderates.

But there could be no denying that the Euro-Arab dialogue had long been in a sad state of disrepair. It was more of a reassuring formula than a living communication.

Assurances that the two sides were on speaking terms sounded good and cost nothing.

By 1983 political observers were writing that the 10-year-old Euro-Arab dialogue was a failure despite several rounds of talks having been held.

It suffered from the outset from two shortcomings: It had no real objectives, no-one seeming to realise what could be achieved and what couldn't. It also failed to clarify the different starting-points for communication.

The prevailing view was that talks of any kind were better than none. That seemed to be a modern outlook, as was the tendency to play down differences.

Some observers seem to play down differences, no matter how substantial, as non-existent figments of the imagination of stick-in-the-mud, malevolent reactionaries (whereas the pundits see themselves as liberal intellectuals).

But before two civilisations talk with each other they would do well to establish who can be conferred with and what about.

Who would dispute that a Euro-Arab dialogue is to be welcomed? The Mediterranean, the cradle of European civilisation, has for more than 1,000 years separated cultures rather than linked them.

The Belgian historian Henri Pirenne showed in his *Mohammed and Charlemagne* how the unity of the Mediterranean

Frankfurter Allgemeine

nean and the Roman empire survived the Goths and the early mediaeval migrations, only to vanish with the advent of Islam.

Separation came to a head in the days of the crusades and the Spanish reconquest (events that must not, incidentally, be viewed in isolation).

The northern and southern coastlines of the Mediterranean, although similar in both geology and climate, were soon further apart intellectually, socially and in terms of religion than continents oceans apart.

In those days dialogue was often equated with treason.

Christianity and Islam were at loggerheads and the two religions remained hostile until an enthusiasm for the Orient swept the West.

"Only those who know Hafiz know what Calderon sang," Goethe wrote. The Orient gained in popularity after an era that enthused about everything Chinese.

It had little or nothing to do with the real Orient, of course. It was merely a projection by Europeans keen to savour the "patriarchal air" in an increasingly prosaic, secularised world.

Conversely the Orient, or at least its elite, turned to the West in a manner wavering between blind admiration, amazement and failure to understand.

Examples include the travel diaries of 19th-century Persian ruler Nasseruddin Shah.

In our own century the Orient began to modernise as a result of colonial and semi-colonial dependence, but it was a superficial modernisation and didn't really change socio-cultural structures.

Continued from page 1

New Zealand insists on retaining its present quotas and on free international trade. His government, Mr Lange says, does not just preach free world trade; it practises it.

New Zealand farmers are no longer subsidised. They have been told to produce for the market, not for subsidies.

Chancellor Kohl promised Mr Lange the German government would continue to advocate a free trade policy that would not run counter to New Zealand's interests in the European Community.

The talks between Herr Kohl and Mr Lange were held in a friendly atmosphere, with the Chancellor voicing appreciation of traditionally cordial ties between the two countries.

Mr Lange, as a Labour Premier, first called on SPD leader Willy Brandt and SPD Shadow Chancellor Johannes Rau. Four days before his official visit he attended the IPPNW congress in Cologne.

CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler, and with him Chancellor Kohl, criticised the 1985 Nobel peace laureate as a one-sided political organisation.

Herr Geissler even called interna-

In Iran, for instance, Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamic revolution took place before real change occurred.

It looks as though this revitalisation of Islam is nothing less than a comprehensive cultural revolution aimed at eliminating Western influences that are felt to have violated Islamic society.

Islam, and not just it, is digging in. If the West were no longer to talk with its representatives, both political and religious, it would undeniably amount to a second division of the Mediterranean, but how in the circumstances is a dialogue to be held that amounts to more than diplomatic banter, cordial but without achieving results?

A dialogue presupposes two speakers. Martin Buber even refers to it as the form of communication between God and man, between man and his fellow-man.

There have to be two parties, each ready to listen to the other, for a dialogue to take place. As matters stand, they don't exist in this instance. The West still tries to fashion non-Westerners in its own image; the Arabs interpret this as arrogance, the arrogance of power.

The Arabs too are full of complexes. Public speeches are all too readily reduced to constant self-praise and an adoration of the glorious but long-gone past.

Self-criticism in public is in many cases seen as a sign of weakness and studiously avoided. Saving face is the objective, even at the cost of covering up for the most appalling misdeeds that are realised to be both morally untenable and politically damaging.

Thus the debate on Palestinian terrorism has two faces: an official face that often hails the murderers of innocent civilians as heroes, even comparing them, inappropriately, with the Afghan

mujaheddin, and an unofficial one that would like to prevent terrorism.

But how is terrorism to be prevented when there are constant calls for "acts of solidarity"?

Concepts such as right and wrong, true and false, still count for much more in the East than in the secularised West with its relativised values camouflaged as Liberalism.

They count for more and have practical clout, but it can strike out in the wrong direction.

This is a point the West must appreciate, particularly in connection with a debate on Palestine.

A settlement of the Palestine conflict along the lines of "reconciliation" as renunciation so beloved of the West is inconceivable in the Middle East in the foreseeable future.

This will be ensured, on Israel's side as well as in the Arab world, by extremists of all hues, especially religious extremists.

East and West mean totally different things when they refer to a "solution" for Palestine — and that doesn't apply only to people like Gaddafi, Assad or Khomeini, who are classified as extremists.

Most Arabs, including modern leaders, are now agreed that President Sadat's peace bid failed because it failed to satisfy the joint minimum requirements of Arab and Muslim extremists.

That is a point the West finds hard to accept. The benefits Egypt enjoyed as a party to the Camp David Agreement, including the return of the entire Sinai peninsula, are felt in the West to outweigh any disadvantages.

The West does not pursue a uniform Christian or Western policy in the sense that Mohammedans aim at Islamic solidarity.

So is an additional official dialogue necessary, one may well wonder, or might not more be accomplished at the level of pragmatic negotiation between the two sides?

Wolfgang Günter Lerch
(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung
für Deutschland, 9 June 1986)

tional Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War a Soviet propaganda forum.

Mr Lange said in Bonn that he failed to see how the IPPNW was controlled by Moscow. The Cologne congress was a welcome opportunity for Mr Lange to outline his anti-nuclear policy.

At 43, he is the youngest Prime Minister New Zealand has had. He is of German extraction. Mr Lange showed himself to be an engaging personality, always ready to crack and appreciate a joke. But he strongly defended his anti-nuclear policy in Bonn.

He said the proposal for a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific was widely approved by countries in the region and enjoyed clear majority support in New Zealand.

Reminded by Chancellor Kohl that the Bonn government hoped the Anzus pact would soon become fully operational again, Mr Lange said he too was keen to maintain the pact between Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

But his government attached priority to ensuring that New Zealand remained absolutely free of nuclear weapons.

That meant no nuclear weapons must be brought to New Zealand on board ships or aircraft, no matter which country was involved.

This attitude prompted the UN States to threaten at the end of April end the Anzus agreement.

New Zealand, its Premier said in talks with Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher, saw itself as a natural partner of European democracies.

But Europeans must realise that democracy in New Zealand was inseparably linked with anti-nuclear policy.

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■ HOME AFFAIRS

Bonn sets up a Ministry of the Environment

Bonn has decided to set up an Environment Ministry. It is to be headed by Walter Wallmann, the Mayor of Frankfurt. Until now, environmental issues have been dealt with by other ministries, mainly Interior and Agriculture.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl's decision to appoint Walter Wallmann as head of the new Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Reactor Safety in Bonn is a clever move.

It not only says a great deal about the state of the Bonn government, but also has a message for those who claim that the Chancellor prefers to wait and see rather than act when political risk threatens.

This time, in the belief that danger is ahead, he has done something.

The danger comes in the form of the election in Lower Saxony in the wake of Chernobyl.

Kohl has admitted that prospects of the Christian Democrats holding the State are gloomy.

There was — to put it mildly — confusion about respective areas of responsibilities between the federal and Land authorities in the wake of the reactor catastrophe.

It took a long time before the government in Bonn issued any official statements on the accident and its implications.

When Bonn Interior Minister, Friedrich Zimmermann, eventually did make a TV announcement may said his advice was unsatisfactory and contradictory.

A glance at the political career of Bonn's first Environment Minister, Walter Wallmann, suggests that he hasn't pushed for party positions but has waited until needed. He has always been ready.

In 1966 he became a member of the Hesse state assembly; in 1972 he became a member of the Bundestag; in 1977 he became mayor of Frankfurt; and in 1982 he was elected chairman of Hesse's CDU section and chosen as party candidate for state premier.

Wallmann doesn't need to persuade anybody that his time has come; his qualities speak for themselves.

He was born in Uelzen, in Lower Saxony, on 24 September, 1932.

His father was a secondary school teacher and immediately after the war Wallmann himself studied law and got his smth. He then studied law and got his doctorate.

He first came into public prominence as a politician as head of the Guillaume committee investigating into the espionage affair in the Bonn Chancellery which led to the resignation of former Chancellor Willy Brandt.

This was between June 1974 and February 1975.

The CDU and many citizens first began pinning higher hopes on Wallmann after he became mayor of Frankfurt in 1977.

Up until that time the huge metropolis on the River Main was regarded by many as ungovernable.

Wallmann showed that this need not be the case, sweeping into and staying in office with an absolute CDU majority.

Although there was no cause for alarm, Zimmermann said, people should as far as possible avoid eating green (leaf) vegetables and drinking milk in the immediate future.

Fear abounded, confidence in the statements of authorities and experts dwindled and hysterical reactions grew.

More confusion was added by self-appointed experts with superficial knowledge.

One university lecturer asked his examination candidates to take their shoes off before entering the lecture hall. He firmly believed the shoes were contaminated.

The newly created Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Reactor Safety will not be able to allay fears overnight.

But Wallmann has the reputation of being a level-headed and sensitive politician.

His portfolio has been pieced together from the responsibilities of other ministerial departments.

Wallmann, the mayor of Frankfurt, has frequently shown his instinct for the business of politics.

Against the opposition of some of his own party (CDU) colleagues, for example, he decided to retain SPD politician Hilmar Hoffmann as head of Frankfurt's cultural and educational policy department.

He justified this decision by emphasising that the CDU had not moved into the Frankfurt city hall as an "occupying power", but intended to pursue policies for citizens as a whole.

For the man with a friendly smile and

pleasant manners has a will of iron. Wallmann's years as mayor of Frankfurt have been so successful that he has been able to defend his party's position in the city as a whole during the last local government elections despite a big swing towards the SPD in the other constituencies of the Land of Hesse.

This was a personal triumph for the man who must now show his worth in Bonn.

The people of Frankfurt — and this is the other side of the coin — will have mixed feelings about Wallmann's move to Bonn when they bear in mind their own interests and worries.

Both of the other parties in the Bonn coalition government, the FDP and the CSU, approve of the decision to include Wallmann in the government cabinet, especially CSU leader, Franz Josef Strauss.

This extension of the cabinet will increase the ratio of Hessian politicians.

Under normal circumstances this might have been a bone of contention, but it looks as if both the government and the coalition parties have got other things on their mind at the moment.

The primary concern is to demonstrate a functioning government and to regain some of the confidence lost.

One of the main reasons why Strauss supports the new move is because state elections are to be held in Bavaria this year.

The fact that the term "reactor safety" has been included in the official ministerial designation does not in itself change the safety situation.

Nuclear power plants in the Federal Republic of Germany have always had high safety standards.

But those who run the plants, above all, the country's powerful electricity monopolies, will now find themselves faced by a man who is thorough and unlikely to be fobbed off by pleasant-

Continued on page 8



Walter Wallmann... Instinct for politics.
(Photo: Werck)

Bad taste left after party funds episode

Although investigations against Chancellor Kohl over party political funds have been dropped, the Chancellor's official reaction shows both relief and bitterness.

On the one hand, there is reference to a firm "belief in the objectivity of the public prosecutors"; on the other hand, however, reference to the "political incriminations and defamations" which a politician must simply endure as long as investigations are in still in progress.

This mixed reaction is understandable.

The two charges brought against the Chancellor by Otto Schily meant: that Kohl had to conduct everyday business in the shadow of serious suspicions concerning his political integrity.

This weighed all the more heavily since he was at the same time trying to reassert authority as Chancellor.

The remark by the CDU's general secretary, Heiner Geissler, that the Chancellor must have had a "blackout" during an earlier court hearing only made the situation worse.

Although the Chancellor is now at least legally cleared, the whole affair is bound to have lingering political after-effects. After all, something always sticks.

This however, may now also apply to Shadow Chancellor, Johannes Rau (SPD).

This is the background: investigation proceedings in Koblenz were above board; the situation in Bonn might not have been so clear.

The Düsseldorf judicial authorities — in the form of chief public prosecutor, Bereslaw Schmitz — would appear to have brought their influence to bear on three occasions during proceedings in Bonn.

The Bonn investigators are answerable to the chief public prosecutor's office in Düsseldorf.

On the first occasion the chief public prosecutor in Düsseldorf instructed the public prosecutor in Bonn to begin investigations even though the latter did not feel that there were sufficient initial grounds to justify such a move.

Since Düsseldorf is the administrative capital of North-Rhine Westphalia, and North-Rhine Westphalia is governed by the SPD, many people began to suspect political motives behind the

Continued on page 6

Wallmann: always time to come to the aid of the party

During his years in office he has made Frankfurt a more habitable place, improving the quality of life in the rather inhospitable city and fostering projects he felt were necessary.

His legal background has helped him make fair decisions.

He studies the files, listens to what his colleagues have to say and then sticks to the decisions he has made.

The 17,000 civil servants working for the city of Frankfurt have come to admire this resolute approach.

Wallmann's determined political style has earned him a reputation as a man who is well aware of what workers think and want.

At home he likes to relax by listening to classical music and reading books. One rarely finds politicians who are so educated and well-read and yet at the same time so practical.

His high level of education is reflected in the courtesy with which he greets every guest and his opposite numbers in discussions.

A man with both human and political qualities.

Social Democrats in Frankfurt say: "He's not only clever, he's good."

Another characteristic maxim is:

(Frankfurter Post, Düsseldorf, 6 June 1986)

■ THE PARTIES

Christian Democrat women's group elects Cabinet minister as leader

The Minister of Family Affairs and Health, Frau Rita Süsmuth, has been elected chairwoman of the Christian Democrat women's organisation. She won by the surprisingly clear-cut margin of 202 votes to 131 over a Bonn Member of Parliament, Frau Renate Hellwig. It is the first time the organisation, which was founded in 1953, has been forced to a vote to elect a chairwoman. The result was received with jubilation on one side and a mixture of disappointment and bitterness on the other.

The CDU's women's association met specially to elect a chairwoman to succeed Helga Wex, who died suddenly at the end of last year.

The main candidates were the Minister for Family Affairs and Health, Frau Rita Süsmuth, the Minister for Education and Science, Frau Dorothee Wlms, and two Bonn MPs, Frau Leni Fischer and Frau Renate Hellwig.

Frau Wex had been chairwoman since 1971. The group was formed in 1953.

To outsiders it appears as if the decisive factor will be the platforms the candidates offer. However, that is not quite as important as it may seem.

The CDU women all agree on the association's fundamental objectives. This has always made the association strong in comparison with the CDU itself.

The CDU's national party conference in Essen in 1985, during which a special women's forum discussed the "basic principles for a new partnership between men and women", was the long overdue result of efforts by the women's association to establish such a partnership.

The women in the party have voiced their specific interests ever since the CDU became a people's party with a clear manifesto.

Their demands were formulated in the Berlin Programme, in the party's basic policy programme, in the various guidelines of party conferences and, of course, in election manifestos.

A milestone in this respect was the "Women and Society" resolution adopted by the 1975 party conference in Mannheim.

Helga Wex, who promoted this strategy with tremendous tenacity and in the face of considerable opposition, regarded Mannheim as an "historical hour".

At long last the women's association was free to concentrate on its real task of helping the party to shape the future.

The women's association never set out to create a special niche for women in the world of politics.

One of its primary objectives was to persuade both women and men that a free and social society based on the rule of law requires the political involvement of both women and men.

The special allowance for bringing up a child, the "upbringing holiday" for parents (a period during which either the mother or father can take time off work to care for their child) and the taking into account of the years needed for a child's upbringing when calculating a person's pension entitlement are all policy moves which have led to a greater social recognition of what a child's upbringing really involves.

The CDU first began introducing these and similar measures in the 1969 Labour Promotion Law.



This policy represents a greater step towards more partnership within the family.

Women and men can decide for themselves who receives the upbringing allowance.

The new law provides for the well-being of the child by enabling at least one of the parents to care for the child during its first year.

It is therefore a clear example of the freedom of choice called for by the CDU.

It strikes a balance between family responsibilities and employment commitments by ensuring that neither women who go out to work nor women who stay at home are one-sidedly favoured in any way.

Although the women in the CDU appreciate what Chancellor Kohl's government has achieved in this field they feel that much more has to be done.

One major demand is for more political mandates for women.

When Eduard Heussen, deputy spokesman of the SPD, says women are playing an increasingly important role in the party, it is not just a piece of electioneering (the election in Lower Saxony is today).

Heussen says a large number of the party's political activists are women.

The tremendous efforts by women SPD members to move into leading positions in the party show that such statements are not merely calculated propaganda designed to canvass the support of female voters in the election in Lower Saxony.

Both the SPD itself and its candidates are feeling the growing pressure of its women members.

The national committee of the Association of Social Democratic Women (AsF) has called upon Shadow Chancellor, Johannes Rau, to include a "fair share" of women in his cabinet if the SPD wins the general election next year.

Inge Wettig-Danielmeier, AsF chairwoman, referred to the fact that the last SPD Shadow Chancellor in 1983, Hans-Jochen Vogel (now leader of the SPD's parliamentary group), had eight women in his election team.

Johannes Rau, said Wettig-Danielmeier, must ensure a similar ratio this time.

There should be a fair representation, she said. "We are not calling for experiments, but only for the fair involvement of women."

Four of the SPD's women politicians are already regarded as probabilities for ministerial posts if Rau wins: Heide Pfarr (Hamburg), the expert on social policy Anke Fuchs, the deputy chairwoman of the parliamentary group, Hertha Däubler-Gmelin, and the former FDP politician Ingrid Matthäus-Maier.

Similar demands for equal representation are made about other positions in the party.

A central part of this discussion is the "Resolution for the Equal Treatment of Women and Men in Politics", which it is

The electorate may feel that the next general election in January 1987 is a long way off.

The potential candidates for this election, however, are already busy trying to canvass support for their nomination, particularly the women.

The Greens and the SPD are hoping to ensure a higher representation of women on their party's lists of candidates via a system of fixed quotas.

In the case of the Greens the men have to reserve 30 per cent of all party positions for their female colleagues.

The SPD quota is 20 per cent.

This form of representation, however, is problematic.

Political work is split up into two fields, a development which is criticised on the job market.

On the labour market a number of jobs are reserved for women.

Women in all political parties agree that this situation must change.

When it comes to politics, however, neither the SPD nor the Greens would appear to support this view.

CDU women reject the quota system because they feel that women should be elected on their own merits.

Only then, they claim, will women be

to their share in the population as a whole.

Frau Wettig-Danielmeier explained how this could be achieved:

"We assume that this objective will be achieved in three stages. To begin with, the proportion of women must be raised to the percentage share of women members in the SPD, i.e. to at least 25 per cent."

"The next step is to make sure that one in three of the positions in the party is held by a woman."

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FINANCE

The facts don't justify Kohl's optimism

**NÜRNBERGER
Nachrichten**

Chancellor Kohl used the Tokyo Economic summit as a forum to praise West Germany's economic performance.

He said the country had done its homework and was now the front-runner among industrialised nations.

The German delegation is even reputed to have coined the expression "Kohlomics" — why shouldn't Kohl follow in the footsteps of "Reaganomics", "Thatcherism", etc.?

But this sort of excessive pride often precedes a fall. An example is what happened to the last Chancellor, Helmut Schmidt.

Towards the end of the 70s, Schmidt's government and many foreign experts spoke of the German economic model.

Then external influences took a hand. The second oil-price shock, for instance, played a major part in leaving Schmidt's model a shambles and triggering a far-reaching economic crisis.

And Kohl's optimistic forecasts do not appear even to be well founded. Economic developments have been unable to keep up with forecasts and growth estimates have become more conservative.

No-one today seriously expects growth this year to reach 4 per cent as predicted by government spokesman Friedhelm Ost in March.

Even the 3.5 per cent suggested a month ago in the spring report of the five leading economic research institutes now seems unlikely. Leading sceptics include members of the Bundesbank.

It was hoped that the substantial decrease in costs caused by the drop in oil prices and in the prices of other imports would result in increased consumer spending. This would have confirmed Germany's position as growth leader among industrialised countries.

But this has not happened. The process of restructuring from an economy sustained by exports to an economy supported by domestic expansionary forces has not yet been achieved.

The clearly waning impulses of the former mainstay of the economy, exports, are currently faced by a weak performance by the two new "locomotives" of the economy, private consumption and business investments.

As a result, there has been a decline in new orders in the industrial sector for the first time since the "strike period" two years ago.

During the first three months of 1986 the volume of new orders, which can be regarded as a reliable indicator of economic activity, was already almost three per cent down on the level recorded in summer last year.

Since this peak period of the economic upswing the volume of new orders has been decreasing slowly but surely.

Although domestic orders have developed much more positively than export orders even they have fallen below the 1980 level.

Together with the poorer profit expectations of industry as a whole this situation has created a general mood of uncertainty.

The much-respected index issued by the IFO Institute for Economics in Munich, which gives a general idea of the overall business "climate" in the Federal Republic of Germany, has been consistently falling for the last five months.

Furthermore, the employment situation has not improved much since autumn last year.

The slight (seasonally adjusted) drop in unemployment during recent months is not primarily due to economic developments but to an alteration in the statistical registration methods, older unemployed persons no longer being counted.

The dynamics of economic development, therefore, have tailed off in almost all branches, and this despite the decrease in the price of oil, lower interest rates and "consumption-friendly" tax relief measures.

Germany, however, is not the only country baffled by the fact that a whole variety of economic policy tools have failed to bring about the desired effects.

In almost all countries the pace of the economic upswing lags behind expectations.

The question is whether the current development is just a quite normal "breather" in the wake of a long albeit moderate economic upswing or whether this upswing is already flagging.

The fact that private consumption tends to respond more slowly than other economic indicators during both the upswing and downswing periods and takes a very long time to adjust to new developments would suggest that the economy is indeed taking a breather.

This in turn would suggest that the positive effects which can be expected to emanate from higher real income levels resulting from stable prices will only gradually make their presence felt.

Most employees are still waiting for the effects of new pay settlements to improve their income situation.

Only then will price stability lead to a marked increase in consumption.

There are, however, still a number of obstacles to this expected "thrust" in economic activity.

Above all, exports have lost their former momentum.

In February German exports were down on the level recorded at the end of 1985 for the first time since 1983.

In view of the appreciation of the mark, the relatively weak economies of other industrialised countries and the decrease in demand from OPEC countries an improvement is unlikely in the near future.

With an eye to the allegedly splendid pace of expansion in the German economy Chancellor Kohl was able during the economic summit to dismiss American suggestions that Germany and Japan should boost their own economic recovery to compensate for the waning impact of the US economy.

This, the Americans claimed, would ensure a worldwide economic upswing.

However, if the economic data in one or two months time are still so poor as they are at the moment, the government will have to do some drastic rethinking.

It will then be in its own (election) interests to take measures to boost the economy.

The question is, however, how it intends doing this without resorting to the kind of government intervention it has so strictly rejected so far.

Hans Georg Lindner

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 21 May 1986)

Bonn under US pressure to crank up the economy

There is a growing call in the United States for the Federal Republic to do more to stimulate its economy.

A report by the US Congress Economic Committee claims that Germany would be in a "unique position" to spearhead the economic growth of western economies if, as expected soon, the US moderated its own economic expansion in an effort to reduce its enormous balance-of-trade and budget deficits.

Even without a special economic policy programme, the 14-page report maintains, the "German malaise" during the first half of the 1980s can be expected to give way to a process of economic recovery.

The report is almost exclusively based on English-language reference material.

The rapidly increasing profits of German businesses, the considerable current account surplus, the low rate of inflation, the creation of an additional 250,000 new jobs last year, and the improved investment climate are all regarded as indicators of a general improvement.

Nevertheless, "alarming obstacles" still have to be overcome before a new era of affluence and stability can set in.

According to the report Germany's main assets are its "highly qualified labour force, its well-developed industrial and technological basis and the cross-party consensus on the free-market orientation of the economy."

The report also claims that the main reasons why Germany fell from its position as the Nato country which best coped with the oil crisis to one which has fallen technologically behind and where unemployment rose sharply at the beginning of the 1980s were: relatively high labour costs and tax rates, strict labour laws, outdated trade and commerce regulations, and a welfare state system which stifled private initiative.

Contrary to repeated declarations of support for the market economy system,

Continued from page 3

decision to bring charges against the CDU Chancellor.

In itself, of course, it is not unusual for two judicial authorities to approach the same problem with differing interpretations of the law.

It is equally commonplace for a superior authority (in this case the chief public prosecutor's office in Düsseldorf) to gain the upper hand in such a situation.

In this particular instance, however, the result was that court proceedings, for which in the final analysis an SPD Justice Minister assumed responsibility, were continually delayed to the detriment of a CDU Chancellor.

This delay lasted well into the election campaign for the (for both parties) highly important state elections in Lower Saxony.

Of course, malice aforethought on the part of the Düsseldorf authorities is just as impossible to prove as is deliberately false testimony on the part of Chancellor Kohl.

Here too, however, it is the political and not the legal yardstick which applies; something always sticks.

(Nürnberger Nachrichten, 31 May 1986)

Handelsblatt

the report says, the Germans have a historical leaning towards government intervention.

Efforts by Chancellor Kohl's government to reduce the huge subsidising of the economy via corresponding policies and to scale down the number of state-owned corporations can, the report claims, "at best" be characterised as "half-hearted".

German public utility enterprises, railway network, the local transport system, air traffic and the communications sector are still run by public monopolies.

The high level of inter-industrial integration and the benefits to be gained from major private companies from the reorganisation of entire branches of industry mean that any attempts to change the situation are confronted by almost insuperable political opposition.

The report cites the example of the Siemens group, which receives an enormous amount of orders from government sources (estimate: \$1.7bn during the financial year 1984).

Although the Federal Republic's GNP is only a fifth of the American figure, the report feels that, second to the USA, Germany is the "natural leader" of any world economic upswing.

With the greatest amount of foreign exchange reserves in the world and a volume of trade amounting to half the US figure the German economy, the report adds, is "uniquely able" to help the USA maintain the international market economy system which has served the interests of both countries so well during the past.

The former head of the American central bank and former US ambassador in Bonn, Arthur Burns, also endorses this view.

During a speech at the Washington Press Club he stated that the conservative government in Bonn, the low rate of inflation and one of the lowest budget deficits in the world represent an ideal combination for the removal of bureaucratic obstacles, the speedy reduction of taxes and the lowering of interest rates.

Burns, however, does not support the exertion of public pressure in this respect by the Reagan administration.

Instead of telling Bonn about its international economic responsibilities, Burns said it would be better to explain to Helmut Kohl that the stimulation of the German economy would help reduce unemployment and defeat political opposition during the next elections.

In his criticism, however, the diplomatic grand seigneur Burns forgot to mention that the Reagan Administration is primarily interested in passing the buck for its "home-made" disemployment in foreign trade.

This explains why Washington is never weary of wagging its finger at Bonn even in a situation in which the German economy is bursting at the seams.

Petra Mühlhölzer

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 2 May 1986)

INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

Asean meets again, but this time economic issues overshadow the Kampuchea question

Asean, the Association of South-East Asian Nations, is on the threshold of the greatest challenge it has faced since it was founded 19 years ago.

It must prove to itself and to the world that it is more than a political pressure group set up to look after common interests on the international stage.

(Asean comprises Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore and Thailand). In energetically opposing Vietnam's invasion of Kampuchea, Asean has played a crucial part in stemming Hanoi's expansionist tendencies.

The Kampuchean crisis continues to simmer despite Asean's peace proposals, but that is because Hanoi knows neither compromise nor withdrawal.

The Vietnamese feel time is on their side. Asean also feels time will tell. It will certainly show who has more staying power.

Without Soviet aid totalling \$6m a day the Vietnamese military campaign in Kampuchea would collapse. So would the Vietnamese economy.

Kampuchea will be on the agenda in Manila on 23 and 24 June when Asean Foreign Ministers meet for their 19th annual conference.

Representatives from the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the European Community will also be there.

But, for the first time in six years another, internal issue will overshadow Kam-

Handelsblatt

puchea: economic cooperation and integration. For 20 years the Asean countries have been the hub of economic growth in the Third World.

Healthy returns on commodity exports, filled government and private coffers in Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and the Philippines. Infrastructures were expanded. Import

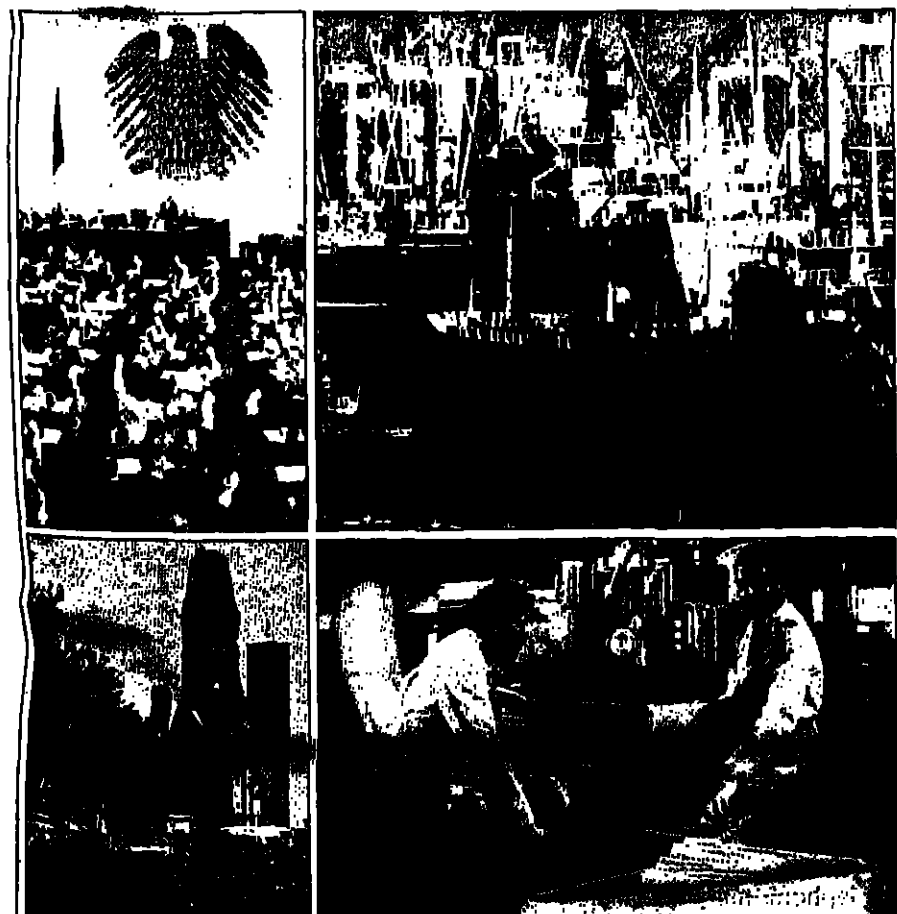
Singapore, an island-state with no commodities of its own, made healthy profits and established itself as an export industry location. The Asean Five prospered and were joined by the oil-rich sultanate of Brunei in 1984, the year in which the international economic crisis began to affect the Asean region.

The Asean countries were hit unexpectedly hard. Singapore's growth rate last year was -1.7 per cent.

The Philippines, embroiled in a crisis that was mainly of its own making, slumped by a further 4.5 per cent (after -5.5 per cent in 1984).

Growth rates in Indonesia, Malaysia and Thailand were a meagre 2.3, 2.7 and 4.7 per cent respectively.

This year only the outlook for Thailand is better, with even the World Bank rating five per cent growth a realistic figure.



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Comecon looks more warmly towards Brussels

The Comecon countries have agreed, after years of hesitation, to establish official ties with the Common Market and hold talks on bilateral economic affairs.

The European Commission in Brussels has been told in a letter from East Germany that Comecon is ready to hold talks.

This change of attitude dates back to the change of leadership in the Kremlin.

Not until Mr Gorbachov took over as Soviet leader did Comecon secretary Zykhov say, in September 1985, that bilateral agreements between the European Community and individual East bloc states might make sense.

He thus met more than half-way the view the Common Market has always held.

The Community has invariably felt that useful though a dialogue between the umbrella organisations might be, it could not extend to trade policy problems because Comecon was not adequately authorised to negotiate on its member-countries' behalf.

Comecon statutes make no provision for a common trade policy, whereas European Community countries have long entrusted Brussels with negotiating trade agreements for them.

This largely formal line of argument was adopted because talks between the blocs would, it was felt, do less justice to the different interests of Comecon countries than agreements between individual countries and the Common Market.

A number of Comecon countries already have treaty ties with the European Community, although they have yet to grant it diplomatic recognition.

Relations with Rumania have progressed furthest. Brussels and Bucharest have agreements on trade in industrial goods, sectoral agreements for steel and textiles and a treaty setting up a mixed committee for mutual consultations.

So the European Commission has advised the Council of Ministers to enter into negotiations on a comprehensive trade and cooperation agreement.

Bilateral cooperation as envisaged by the Commission would be extended to include agricultural produce and arrangements going beyond mere trade.

Material problems are unlikely to occur in connection with such negotiations.

Preliminary talks with Hungary have also reached a fairly advanced stage, although Budapest clearly expects the Common Market to make concessions, especially in the agricultural sector, it will have difficulty in making.

Czechoslovakia and Poland have made approaches for some time too. They, like Hungary, could well agree to trade treaty terms with the European Community.

In contrast, Brussels is still in the dark as to what Moscow and East Berlin want. Contacts with Soviet and GDR government representatives have so far been sporadic and informal.

So, the first step is expected by the European Commission to be the establishment of official relations.

Trade with the European Community presents few problems for the GDR inasmuch as intra-German trade is classed as trade within the Community.

Relations with Comecon are likely to be made more specific by an agreement on the exchange of information and statistics (on environmental matters, for instance).

Wilhelm Hadler

(Die Welt, Bonn, 31 May 1986)

Singapore is expected to decline further, while Indonesia, Malaysia and the Philippines will have difficulty staying on the right side of zero. So the crisis is serious.

Leading politicians have for years urged Asean to step up regional economic cooperation. Asean, they argued, would only have a future if it succeeded in combining political solidarity and an economic community.

Countless committees and clubs have been set up and starts of all kinds made, but the political will to make substantial headway is lacking. There has also been a lack of compulsion, of external pressure.

Plans for large-scale joint industrial projects have foundered on member-countries' individual interests.

The preferential tariff agreement signed at the end of 1977 with high hopes of setting up a customs-free trading zone is making slow and sluggish headway.

Tariff preferences are between 20 and 25 per cent and now apply to 18,000 products, but no-one is interested in buying combs, padded jackets or bananas from neighbouring countries.

Trade in goods qualifying for preferential tariffs thus accounts for a mere two per cent of business between Asean countries. Yet trade within Asean, unlike Asean foreign trade as a whole, is on the increase, having grown from 15 per cent in the early 1980s to over 20 per cent today.

Asean countries are faced with the problem that their economies are still competitive, not complementary.

They compete for the same markets with both their commodities and their industrial exports, not to mention their efforts to interest foreign investors and raise bank loans. It is scant consolation to realise they are all in the same boat due to the decline in commodity prices and growing barriers to trade.

But Asean's community spirit is inspired by the realisation that a common rejoinder is crucial to survival.

Different though the six countries may be in history, culture, religion and national characteristics, their politicians will have to face challenges jointly, strongly and determinedly.

The Asean countries face the economically difficult and politically sensitive task of finding a formula by which to balance national waivers and allocate the benefits of community agreements to share markets and production in a manner acceptable to all.

Preparations have begun, with sectoral cooperation an important aspect. But proposals have not yet reached the stage at which Asean Economic Affairs Ministers could agree to terms.

Philippine Industry and Trade Minister José Concepcion gave this as the reason for the indefinite postponement of the conference of Asean Economic Affairs Ministers that was to have been held in Manila in April.

The forthcoming conference of Foreign Ministers will indicate the trend. It must pave the way, for the summit meeting planned to be held next year to decide on cooperation and integration of Asean economies.

Asean heads of government aim to mark the association's 20th anniversary by laying down a policy line to last until the year 2000.

Christel Pilz

(Handelsblatt, Düsseldorf, 27 May 1986)

■ BUSINESS

Beer-pressurising device grandfather of diving-rescue kit for sub-zero waters

RHEINISCHER MERKUR

Divers trapped in accidents in the freezing cold lakes of Siberia may soon owe their lives to a rescue system made in Germany.

It is designed to work at temperatures as low as -40° C. The first six sets have just been shipped to the Soviet Union by the manufacturers, Dräger of Lübeck.

In the United States pit rescue workers have come to be known as Drägermen in much the same way as divers are called frogmen.

Dräger equipment was used when last year's German Spaceclub mission was sent into orbit.

The Japanese aeronautics and space administration has ordered pressurised gas equipment from Lübeck for a space mission planned for 1987/88.

Drägerwerk AG are a family firm yet a leading international manufacturer of respiratory equipment with a consolidated group turnover of DM835m.

The story began with an almost banal invention by Heinrich and Bernhard Dräger, who in 1889 devised a beer pressure device to reduce the pressure of carbonic acid.

It soon earned them good money, enabling the two brothers to experiment with other techniques involving compressed gas.

They laid the foundation for the product range much as it has survived to this day when, in 1902, they marketed the world's first oxygen equipment for use by anaesthetists in the operating theatre.

Two years later they produced the first oxygen mask for use down the mine, followed in 1907 by the first automatic resuscitation device.

Between 1909 and 1912 Dräger applied for 46 German and 35 foreign patents and registered 128 trade marks.

Twice the firm, which has always been export-oriented, has had to start from scratch — after each world war.

Chief executive Christian Dräger, 51, is the third-generation Dräger in charge of the company.

After the Second World War the product range was so wide that specialisa-

tion was essential if the firm was to retain its independence.

Dräger were active in welding and vehicle measurement and control technology. They held substantial shares in both markets and ran operations at a profit.

But the management decided to concentrate on its roots. Dräger were to stand for safe breathing.

Corporate policy states that: "We are a firm developing, manufacturing and marketing worldwide products that make possible, support and protect respiration."

Respiration is made possible by supplying air for breathing down gas-contaminated mines, in thick smoke or under water.

Respiration is supported for patients whose own breathing is too weak to supply the body with sufficient oxygen.

Respiration is protected when the surroundings are polluted by toxins such as gas or dust.

On the basis of this corporate identity activities are concentrated in four main sectors: medical technology, safety engineering, gas measurement and pressure chamber technologies.

There are competitors in all four sectors but no one company active in such a wide range and in a position to make use of the synergic effect.

An example of this interaction is the sensor devised for diving equipment and now used in medical apparatus and air safety equipment too.

Dräger have been equally systematic in establishing a presence in export markets. This, says Christian Dräger, is essential both to sell goods and to hold one's own in competition.

"In the long term," he says, "we can only be good at home if we can hold our own in international markets too."

"Only by maintaining a presence in the domestic markets of our competitors can we know what plans they have."

In 1973 Dräger had eight subsidiaries abroad. There are now 18 and production facilities in important foreign markets such as Britain, Brazil and the United States.

Early last year Fritz A. Lohmann, an experienced export manager, was appointed to the board with responsibility for sales, marketing and product management.

His appointment was a clear sign of

the importance attached to export markets, which already account for 40 per cent of turnover.

Lohmann came from Valvo in Hamburg, a Philips company and the largest European microchip manufacturer.

Dräger pioneered preferential shares in 1979 to ensure long-term independence via access to the capital market.

"There is no problem that cannot be boiled down to a problem of personnel," says the chief executive. On this basis Dräger have developed outstanding products and earned an international reputation.

They include an escape route concept for mines including hermetically-sealed escape chambers in which six people can survive in situ for at least four hours.

Pressure chambers used in offshore rescue work in Australia, Cuba, Malaysia and Nigeria are based on the same principle. They are devised for use at depths of up to 450 metres.

In 1969 the Heligoland submarine laboratory was a sensation. It has since been outstripped by much more sophisticated technology at the North Sea diving station.

Dräger diving systems can simulate conditions at depths of up to 450 metres and Dräger engineers are working on systems capable of simulating conditions at depths of up to 1,500 metres.

Paul Dietz

(Rheinischer Merkur/Christ and Welt, Bonn, 31 May 1986)

Continued from page 3

sounding reports praising past achievements.

In this respect, Wallmann very much resembles Wolfgang Karthe of the Federal Cartel Office in Berlin.

One of the key questions will be which guidelines are to be followed when building or extending nuclear power stations.

Both the West German public utility enterprises and local troubleshooters may now experience a rude awakening.

The new minister has extensive responsibilities, ranging from waste-water disposal to more effective ways of cleaning up the environment and preventing Germany's neighbouring countries from polluting rivers such as the

Hint on how to sell marine technology

Economic Affairs Minister Martin Bangemann says joint ventures might help Germany's marine technology industry to get a foothold in world markets.

Opening the Marine Technology and International Cooperation symposium in Wilhelmshaven, he said the industry must not be disheartened by its unfavourable starting point in international competition.

But it might need to show some imagination: joint ventures or other forms of collaboration might ease access to markets so far closed, Herr Bangemann suggested.

The Federal government would do its best to negotiate amendments to the seabed mining provisions of the UN Law of the Sea Convention so as to make them generally acceptable.

Bonn chose not to sign the convention on account of the unsatisfactory and inadequate nature of these provisions.

The Federal government issued licences to prospect for marine commodities last December in order to ensure that German firms were not excluded from deep-sea mining in the meantime.

Prospecting for manganese nodules in the areas for which licences had been issued could now go ahead and the engineering and technology needed could be further developed.

Bonn also plans to press hard in the Gatt round Herr Bangemann expects to start soon for liberalisation of trade in services and the drafting of generally acknowledged multilateral provisions.

(Die Welt, Bonn, 22 May 1986)

Rhine, Werra or Weser with potassium salt.

Wallmann is certainly a politician who stands a good chance of coping with this variety of difficult tasks and improving environmental protection and safety.

In view of the significance of these tasks longer-term measures should be taken.

Today there is still talk of Wallmann running against Holger Börner as the CDU's candidate in the 1987 state elections in Hesse.

The question is, however, whether Wallmann might not be more urgently needed in Bonn as a cabinet minister.

Fritz Ullrich

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 4 June 1986)

■ THE HANOVER AIR SHOW

Airbus shows how it will take on Boeing in the battle for the skies

A full range of five versions of the European Airbus was on display for the first time at the Hanover air show. Models of the planned A 330 and A 340 complement the three aircraft already available.

Airbus' increased range is an attempt to take the battle for sales to Boeing, the American manufacturer which is able to offer airlines a much wider range than anybody else.

It is a tough market. It is also an odd one: when Pan Am, the American carrier, received three new A 310s last year, they were delivered through, of all people, Boeing.

Huge amounts stand to be won and lost over the next few years. Just how much is disputed. Boeing, manufacturer of more than half the jet airliners in the West, puts world civil aviation demand until 1995 for airlines seating 130-plus at roughly 4,000 — worth more than \$135bn.

Airbus Industrie expects demand over the next 20 years to be 9,100 worth \$500bn. It predicts that it will supply 2,600 of these.

That would amount to an average output of over 100 units a year for the next 20 years, and what that means is clear from comparison with the past.

Since the first Airbus was supplied to its buyer 12 years ago roughly 260 Airbus have found buyers. That is an average 22 a year, so Airbus are expecting



to boost production fivefold for the next two decades.

That conveys some idea of the state of the industry nowadays: like a madhouse. An airline needs barely to hint that it might be interested in a new aircraft for sales representatives to besiege it.

Aircraft manufacturers have long ceased to think primarily in terms of profits. Their main concern is to keep a foot in every conceivable door.

With an enormous volume of business expected in the years ahead, sales staff are under immense pressure to deliver the goods. Orders must be booked — at virtually any price.

It is a no-holds-barred contest. Lockheed and Boeing were proved several years ago to have worked with bribes.

Sales staff use dubious performance charts. Wine, women and song are laid on as sweeteners. Expenses are immaterial provided there is still the slightest chance of beating the competition to an order.

Shrewd airline executives play them along for all they are worth and benefit from extremely advantageous terms.

This game of poker is played at the

highest and most reputable level. Shortly before signing an Airbus order the chief executive of Swissair, for instance, flew to Boeing in Seattle to check Boeing's final offer of terms for the alternative, the Boeing 767.

At Swissair a decision had long been reached in favour of the Airbus, as Boeing are sure to have known, so this play can only have been intended to ensure even better terms from Airbus Industrie.

Boeing will have been only too happy to oblige, knowing equally well how desperate Airbus were for orders and how vulnerable the European consortium was.

That was in 1978, since when competition has grown even fiercer. International civil aviation has been hit by a slump: airlines have been short of cash and manufacturers have been short of orders.

The time was ripe for unusual dealing of all kinds. Entire fleets of aircraft were leased, not bought outright. McDonnell Douglas leased MD 80s to American and TWA, thereby averting the threat of closure for lack of orders.

Boeing used the same bait to persuade Delta Airlines, previously a regular McDonnell Douglas customer, to switch allegiance to the Boeing 737.

In both cases the lessee was able to negotiate terms far more favourable than the rule in the leasing business, particularly termination clauses — that saddled the lessor with the risk of one day being left with dozens of airliners returned early.

This has yet to happen but it is not long since Boeing would have been able to call themselves the eighth-largest airline in the United States if they had flown all the aircraft taken back in trade-ins.

At one stage Boeing had over 40 aircraft returned empty, as it were: trade-ins awaiting sale on the second-hand market.

In summer 1983 Boeing accepted as trade-ins two Boeing 747s, five Airbus A 300s and three McDonnell Douglas DC 10s. Singapore Airlines bought five 757s and six 747-300s in return.

The company also accepted 11 Lockheed TriStars in a deal with Delta Airlines and several other aircraft as part of smaller deals.

A 12-man sales squad scoured the market for customers to buy second-hand airliners parked up on Boeing airstrips.

McDonnell Douglas had between 25 and 30 used airliners from various quarters at this stage, while the Europeans could hardly claim to be much better off.

Airbus were manufacturing A 300s for stock rather than to order. Orders were not coming in and over 20 new, unsold Airbus were stockpiled at one stage.

The situation has since improved. Airbus have sold many aircraft in stock, although some were sold at less than cost price, and the Americans have been able to scale down their salesmanship in the second-hand market.

But competition has grown neither tamer nor fairer. The three Airbus Boeing sold to Pan Am were bought from Kuwait Airways at the full price before delivery.

Boeing bought the A 300s from Kuwait in return for a Kuwaiti order of Boeing 767s.

Airbus aren't squeamish either. In 1984 Boeing signed a preliminary contract with Indian Airlines, the domestic airline for which Rajiv Gandhi used to work as a pilot, for 12 Boeing 757s.

Boeing trimmed the price from \$45m to \$35m per plane to keep Airbus out of the market, but to no avail.

At last year's Paris air show Mr Gandhi was rumoured to have spent longer than planned at the Airbus stand, indicating that something or other was afoot, as indeed it was.

At the end of September Indian Airlines signed a contract with Airbus Industrie for 19 A 300s at \$32m each.

As an additional incentive France promised to support India's case for concessional loans from the World

The new models

Airbus Industrie, the European consortium, unveiled at this year's Hanover air show two new models planned to be available in five years.

They were the four-engine, 260-seater, long-range A 340 and the twin-engine, 310-seater, medium-range A 330.

These models complete the Airbus range. By autumn the consortium hopes to have enough orders in hand to give the go-ahead for development, which will cost an estimated DM7bn.

Lufthansa, the German airline, is among the potential customers — it is mainly interested in the long-range model.

Boeing and McDonnell Douglas have announced plans to build competing models.

Boeing is to build a smaller version of the four-engined 747 seating 300 and a larger version of the twin-engine, medium-range 767 seating 330.

McDonnell Douglas is to build a three-engined MD 11 to replace the DC 10. It will be available as a 320-seater in medium- and long-range versions.

All these new models are to be available by the end of the decade.

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 30 May 1986)

Bank, to help India purify the water of the Ganges and to bring forward the delivery date of Mirage jet fighters already ordered.

Deals such as these make the Americans hopping mad. They see Airbus as a government-subsidised corporation with much greater economic leeway than private firms such as Boeing or McDonnell Douglas.

Airbus is jointly owned by France, Germany, Britain and Spain. An American firm would certainly not be able to manufacture planes for stock just to keep the payroll busy.

Europeans are not entirely satisfied with Airbus Industrie either. The consortium is said to totally lack economic transparency. The quality of its aircraft is undisputed but a comprehensive and verifiable cost analysis is not available.

As matters stand Airbus would probably not yet be in a position to hold its own in a straight fight with Boeing.

Only three basic models are currently available in the 150- to 300-seater range. They are the A 300, the A 310 and the A 320.

Boeing in contrast can offer anything from the 500-seater Jumbo to an 18-seater feeder aircraft manufactured by newly-bought Canadian subsidiary de Havilland.

So the no-holds-barred struggle is sure to continue.

Sepp Moser

(Die Zeit, Hamburg, 30 May 1986)

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■ LITERATURE

When German and Israeli writers meet, there's only one topic — the Holocaust

General-Anzeiger

When writers meet they usually discuss a single subject: literature.

But not when German and Israeli writers meet. They deal with Auschwitz.

This was shown yet again at the second meeting of German and Israeli authors held by the FDP's Friedrich Naumann Foundation in Königswinter, near Bonn.

The topic was meant to be "Writing in a Young State — In a Traumatized Society?". The 40 writers present over the three days had planned to discuss the form and content of writing in Germany and Israel.

But it did not work out that way. The subject was the Holocaust.

"You can't talk about literature in Germany," an Israeli woman writer said.

Josef Lapid, writer, politician and former director-general of Israeli radio and TV: "The Holocaust is the only issue for discussion by Jews and Germans. There will never be another."

He criticised what he felt was an offensive lack of feeling some Germans showed toward the Jews, their perceptible inability to mourn.

Since the 1970s, he feels, there has been a tendency in German literature and drama to accuse the Jews of guilt. A scene in Heinar Kipphardt's play *Bratler Eichmann* clearly equates Auschwitz and Beirut.

"To compare the historically unique genocide of the Jews with Beirut or any other event is to make it (Auschwitz) appear harmless," Lapid said.

The more guilt the Jews are accused of, the less responsibility the Germans needed to feel for Auschwitz. "But this guilt can never end: not after 40 years, not after 400 years."

In these circumstances there could be no shades of grey in literary portrayal of the Holocaust, no half-tones, only black and white.

The views of Lapid, 55, were shared by Lea Fleischmann, 40.

How, she wondered, could one possibly communicate normally in a country where modes of thought and behaviour that led to Auschwitz had changed not one iota?

The Germans, she felt, were as trusting in authority as they were 50 years ago.

The radical view espoused by Josef Lapid and the blanket, one-sided view held by Lea Fleischmann did not go uncontradicted.

"Life goes on despite Auschwitz," said Mordechai Virshubsky. Auschwitz was a symbol of horror threatened to be reduced by constant repetition to an empty phrase.

Literature and art ought not to deal solely with topics representing the past. They must also foster understanding and pave the way to a better future.

Ghetto playwright Yehoshua Sobol called, in contrast to Lapid, for a literature that thought and brooded, differentiating rather than generalising.

Via history the writers eventually got round to literature in Königswinter, with extracts being read.

Cordelia Edvardsson in *Gebrannte*

Kind sucht das Feuer and Grete Weil in *Meine Schwester Antigone* describe in autobiographical novels the tragic and paradoxical dilemma of Jews who survived the Holocaust.

They are victims who feel guilty for having survived. "The struggle to survive cannot be waged guiltlessly," Cordelia Edvardsson writes.

Ralph Giordano in his novel *Die Bertinis* similarly seeks to describe his youth in Nazi Germany.

Other topics were also dealt with in the readings. In his latest play *The Palestinian Woman* Sobol deals with the problematic coexistence of Arabs and Jews.

The varied work of Sami Michael, Lea Fleischmann and Ute Bohmeier had in common personal problems and human destinies independently of history and geography.

Literary discussions didn't take long. Instead of talking about metaphors and syntax the Israeli writers told tales and recounted personal reminiscences.

They passionately, frankly and eloquently voiced their confessions and fears. Israelis were seen to have very little confidence in the Germans.

Sami Michael, speaking for the Israeli writers, said they had spent three days performing a kind of intellectual striptease, turning their insides out.

What about the Germans? "After three days I still don't know much about the Germans," he said. They had remained silent and unfathomable.

That was not, perhaps, surprising. Jo-

sef Lapid and Lea Fleischmann had been too quick to outline positions and allocate roles. The Germans were on the defensive.

This was not, of course, an arbitrary position. It was historically right. German writers, including those representing the younger generation, are victims of German history. They too live and write in a traumatised society.

In his May 1985 speech marking the 40th anniversary of VE Day Richard von Weizsäcker, the German head of state, outlined the position as follows:

"No-one expects them (younger people) to wear hair shirts simply because they are Germans. But their forefathers bequeathed them a harsh legacy.

"We all, guilty or not, old or young, must accept the past. We all are affected by its consequences and are liable for them."

The personal and societal responsibility of writers is that of keeping memories alive by means of their novels, stories and plays — memories of "a reality no written word can surmount," as an Israeli put it.

The discussions between Germans and Jews were difficult and painful, yet in the end there was a barely perceptible, fragile rapprochement, an agreement to talk with each other regardless what had happened.

That may not be much but it was still a great deal.

Dieter Kanthak

(General-Anzeiger, Bonn, 31 May 1986)

An 'impassioned Pole' wins peace prize



Auschwitz victim... Wladyslaw Bartoszewski. (Photo: dpa)

modern Polish history, so he knows in greater detail than many what the loss of six million dead during the war and the Nazi occupation meant for Poland.

Yet he was one of the first Poles to extend the hand of friendship to Germans. He saved Jewish lives and is viewed in Israel as a just man.

In Poland he has constantly criticised the Party and the government when they

Grass is off to seek greener fields in Asia

Writer Günter Grass surprisingly decided for personal reasons not to stand for re-election as president of the Berlin Academy of Arts. Composer Giselher Klebe was elected his successor.

Grass took over three years ago after the sudden death of architect Walter Düttmann. Painter, sculptor and architect Max Bill was elected vice-president.

Grass, 58, plans to spend a year in Asia. His decision not to stand, which he had notified the academy some time ago, had nothing to do with the unimpressive reception of his latest novel *Rattrin*.

"But I must say I am very glad to be leaving Germany. Political commitment has become suspect amongst fashionable intellectuals, as I have found out my cost. I simply cannot take part in current post-modern murmurings."

Three years ago he was elected president by a narrow majority in the ballot. His opponent was actor E. Schröder.

Over 200 artists of various kinds members of the academy. May he outside Berlin — Stephan Hermlin, for example, who lives in East Germany.

During his term as president Grass called for "creative unrest." He initiated a comprehensive series of lectures on the "poverty of enlightenment."

The long-awaited expansion of the academy to include a film and media section also took place during his term in office.

dpa

(Kölnischer Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 2 June 1986)

violated human rights. He was last arrested when martial law was declared in mid-December 1981 after Solidarity was banned.

He was freed because a Jewish official had intervened on his behalf. "We have strange friends, Mr Bartoszewski bishops and rabbis," the Polish Foreign Minister said.

Bartoszewski is convinced that suffering serves a purpose. He says: "I must always decide in favour of life. I am an optimist. He has offered resistance. These are all parts of his life."

His parents taught him that life was a disgrace. The courage to stand up for civil rights is, he feels, important.

He was one of the first Polish artists that his country had taken part in the expulsion of millions of Germans from their homes. That is but one sentence from countless comments on his life.

He does not keep quiet about the bestiality that led to the death of six million people in Poland — any more than he keeps quiet about the inferno of exploitation and the loss of people's homes, including Polish homes in the east.

He does not keep quiet about the secret agreement between Hitler and Stalin and the division of Poland even before the Wehrmacht invaded the country in September 1939.

He speaks out about the mass graves at Katyn Forest and does so not to keep silent but to educate and teach the young people who instinctively did what what he felt was right and made sacrifices for others, taking suffering on themselves.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 27 May 1986)

■ BALLET

Pas de bourrée away from gimmickry and props

SONNTAGSBLATT

During recent years ballet has been moving towards a kind of dance-cum-theatre, a style marked by less fluidity of movement and more gestures and speech.

It is also a style which involves trying to impress the audience by using as many props as possible.

But no more. The emphasis is returning to dancing.

This is a welcome development because ballet in its inherently rhythmic form is much more exciting than makeshift efforts to disguise the lack of choreographic imagination by employing aids which are alien to the art.

What is more, Germany now stands a better chance of keeping pace with international developments.

Although Germany's expressive and problem-conscious theatrical dance style has been praised in other western countries, especially in that eldorado of ballet, the United States, preference has always been given to dancing pure and simple.

Pina Bausch and her pupil Vivienne Newport provide the most recent and striking examples of this changing trend.

Bausch's latest production in Wuppertal entitled *Viktor* clearly reveals more smooth and dance-like elements.

She carefully unfolds her ideas, exhilarating the audience with manifest symbols, impressive images and imaginative sequences of movement.

The performance never drifts into the realm of the banal or arbitrary.

The central theme is the role of women in our society.

The women depicted, however, are not thundering women's libbers.

Although on stage the women are misused as auxiliary objects, for example as fountains providing water for the ablutions of the men, they put up a clever fight.

The most gentle form of "disobedience" is refuge in a dream world.

One woman — the enchanting Silvia Kesselheim — tries to flee from her drab and mundane existence by dancing tip-toe as a ballerina for well over four minutes.

Others put up a more passive fight, forcing an extremely demanding gentleman to leave the place where they work as waitresses.

The third path in the battle of the sexes is careerism and the pursuit of power that men.

One example is a female auctioneer, who holds the reins in her hands and pulls them tight.

Viktor, which was pieced together during a tour of Italy, must rank as one of Pina Bausch's more convincing choreographic productions.

She indicates a return to her ensemble's more exciting origins.

In her *Gegen Abend* at the Theater am Turm in Frankfurt, Vivienne Newport presents an equally vibrant, vivid and sensitive style.

Unfortunately, ballet performances are few and far between in Frankfurt this season.

The most important festivals showing the latest dance developments and called *Best Tanzaufnahme* (a play on the

word *Bestandsaufnahme*, which means stock-taking) were dropped.

There are, however, rays of hope, such as the Newport premiere.

Vivienne Newport describes the fate of women in fleeting one-night relationships.

William Forsythe, the director of Frankfurt's opera ballet-house, has also come up with something new.

Skinny is a lively dance on a volcano, backed by the driving rhythms of a sound computer.

The troupe of dancers move like robots in accordance with rigid formation patterns.

At the same time the transitions of their movements are uninhibited and full of an exuberant joie de vivre.

Whereas the Hamburg ballet company has to manage without the premiere of its ballet director John Neumeier during its Ballet Festival, Neumeier himself is currently preparing productions in Berlin.

His *Tristan*, taken from the saga of King Arthur (powerful and xylographic dance figures), met with the in some cases considerable disapproval of the audience at the Deutsche Oper.

There was praise, on the other hand, for his sensitive and lively choreography for Johann Sebastian Bach's *Orchestral Suite No. 3*.

The only premiere is *Einhorn* (Unicorn), a highly symbolic production dealing with the longings of youth for love.

Eva Evdokimova plays a girl who confuses dreams and reality.

A man appears in the form of a unicorn and makes such an impression on her that she yields to him.

When he disappears she no longer knows whether the whole thing was a dream or reality.

In a pleasant blend of classical and expressive dancing choreographer Neumeier shows that he is at his best when arranging poetic pas de deux.

The fact that new choreographers can try out their various styles during the opening days of the 12th Ballet Festival in Hamburg has an invigorating influence on the company.

This kind of challenge proves just how high the ensemble's technical standard is.

The spectrum ranges from ironically arranged classical pieces such as Leonid Jakobsen's *Miniature* to the dramatic expression of the masterly adaptation of the Othello theme in José Limón's *The Moor's Havane* and the modern dance style of Rudi van Dantzig's *Niemandsland* and Jiri Kylián's *Verklärte Nacht*.

Together with magnificent soil and superb corps de ballet the final Nijinsky gala presents excellent guest stars.

The underlying theme of the evening is Ballet and Its Music.

With reference to significant examples from three centuries, Neumeier proved a charming master of ceremonies, illustrating the development of ballet music.

Originally, music was specifically composed for a particular ballet performance, whereas choreographers today let themselves be inspired by established music.

There are a number of climaxes to a long but varied gala.

Don Juan by Christoph Willibald Gluck is a Swedish and historical adaptation.

Anneli Alhanko and Per Arthur Sægerström from Stockholm, who also enthral the audience in the balcony scene of *Romeo and Juliet*, dance with tremendous emotion.

Merle Park from the London Royal Ballet gives her farewell performance with the delightful and amusing *La Chatte métamorphosée en Femme*.

Evelyn Hart, an international star from Canada, dances an enchanting pas de deux with Hamburg's Ivan Liska in Neumeier's *Der Nussknacker*.

The audience was extremely enthusiastic about Carla Fracci and Gheorghe Lăncu from the Milan Scala.

She moves lyrically with all the experience of a 50-year-old ballerina.

Her jumps and moves, as a powerful danseur noble.

Monique Janotta and Paolo Rottoluzzi from Düsseldorf have unfortunately passed their peak.

Other dancers, however, were brilliant. Colleen Scott stood out as Eurydice and Gamal Guoda as Joseph.

In *Le Sacre*, Beatrice Cordun exhibited marvellous dramatic dancing.

All passages are from John Neumeier's ballets.

One particular part from *La Sylphide* with Eva Evdokimova and Jan Broeckx was especially praiseworthy.

Hamburg festival of ballet, therefore, exemplifies the art of pure dancing in the contemporary German ballet scene.

Roland Langer

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, Hamburg, 25 May 1986)



Boy Gobert was a favourite in Hamburg. (Photo: Peter Pelisch)

■ THE THEATRE

Director Boy Gobert dies at 60

Actor, producer and theatre-director Boy Gobert has been found dead in his Vienna flat — it was just a few days before his 61st birthday. Cause of death was probably a heart attack.

Gobert was often the butt of professional criticism: on stage he felt at home in the world of snobs and social upstarts.

His best performances were in plays by Sternheim.

Last year he angrily left Germany to become director of the Theater in der Josefstadt in Vienna.

Gobert's father was the Senator for Cultural Affairs in Hamburg and his mother was a Hungarian countess.

His debut performance as an actor after the war was in Helmut Gmelin's Theater im Zimmer as Oswald in Ibsen's *Ghosts*.

Via the Deutsche Schauspielhaus in Hamburg his career took him to Karlsruhe, Frankfurt, Stuttgart and Munich and then back to Hamburg.

Between 1960 and 1969 he worked at the Vienna Burgtheater.

It was then that his career as a theatre-director began, first of all at the Thalia theatre in Hamburg.

However, after failing to simultaneously become director of the Deutsche Schauspielhaus and the Thalia theatre he left Hamburg embittered to become the director-general of the public theatres in Berlin in 1980/81.

Although this period began with a number of spectacular productions, his directorship was all in all rather colourless.

The artistic quality of his own productions was disputed.

Above all, he was unable to persuade well-known producers to stay in Berlin or to create a cosmopolitan flair.

Gobert was highly sensitive.

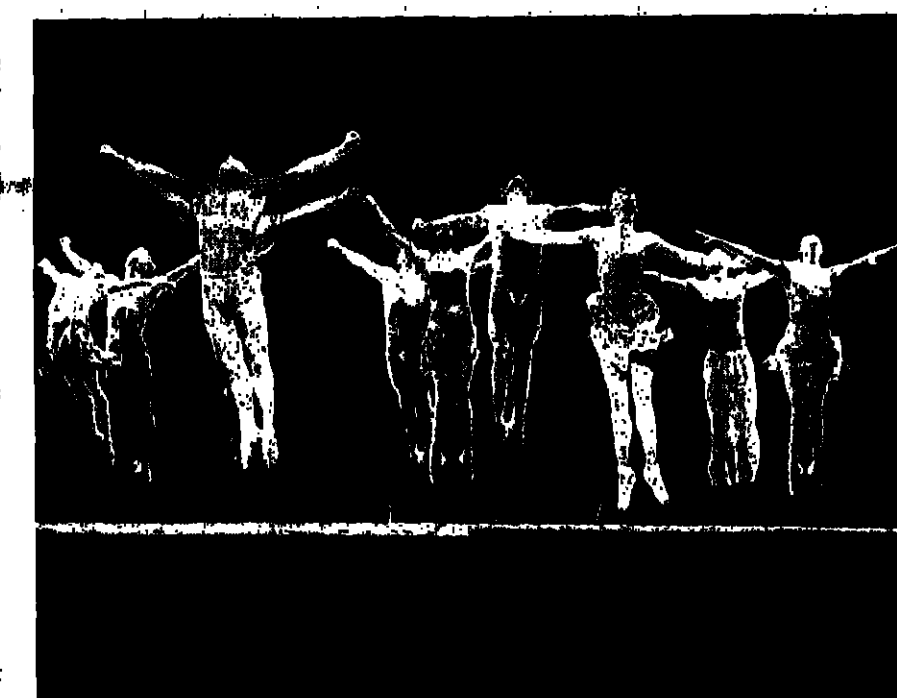
He continued to visit Berlin regularly, where he took singing lessons.

Only a few months ago he claimed that the current Senator for Cultural Affairs in Berlin had dropped him in response to the criticism of the press outside of Berlin; and this without having a real alternative.

In particular, Gobert suffered from his reputation as a kind of "dandy".

His hurt feelings in this respect explain his attacks on the theatre critics.

Continued on page 13



A scene from Rudi van Dantzig's *Niemandsland*. (Photo: Peter Pelisch)

■ NUCLEAR ENERGY

Wackersdorf, rallying cry for both pros and antis

The name Wackersdorf has become a rallying point for the anti-nuclear forces in West Germany. It is the site of a planned nuclear reprocessing plant in Bavaria. When 10,000 turned up late last month to protest, trouble broke out and more than 400 were injured, including 150 policemen. Police used water cannon and teargas to take on iron-bar wielding demonstrators. In this article for *Stuttgarter Zeitung*, Rainer Klütting looks at what the Wackersdorf plant is meant to do.

The largest and costliest recycling plant ever planned in the Federal Republic is the proposed nuclear fuel reprocessing facility at Wackersdorf, in Bavaria.

It will cost an estimated DM5bn and use techniques that although known are not without problems. Some critics say they are out of date. Others say they are simply unnecessary.

Nuclear fuel reprocessing in Wackersdorf as at present planned is not strictly needed; doesn't make economic sense and, in environmental terms, is more questionable than any nuclear power station in the country.

In everyday operation Wackersdorf will emit 10 times more radiation into the atmosphere than a nuclear reactor, although this would still be well below the legal safety level.

These are not the main reasons for such stiff resistance. Wackersdorf will generate plutonium, which can be used in nuclear warheads.

It is also a symbol for both supporters and opponents of atomic energy as an energy supplier.

Wackersdorf is yet another, deeper commitment to nuclear power and a billion-deutschmark concrete and prestige barrier to any phasing-out of atomic energy.

The plant is designed to recycle from spent fuel rods everything that can be used a second or third time as nuclear fuel.

That might seem to make sound economical sense. It might seem like ensuring that scarce capacity in nuclear waste disposal facilities is not exhausted too fast.

But the economy argument has been quietly shelved since Karlsruhe nuclear research establishment showed, in a survey published at the end of last year, that it would be less expensive to dump spent fuel rods straight away.

Radioactive waste disposal is easier said than done, of course. One difficulty is that no-one has any experience of it, whereas recycling knowhow exists.

Supporters of reprocessing nuclear fuel emphasise this lack of experience in storing nuclear waste, especially as the Atomic Energy Act makes no provision for final storage.

The DWK, the government agency that will run Wackersdorf, says uranium must be used sparingly despite its low market price because the Federal Republic has limited deposits of its own and limited storage space for nuclear waste too.

The idea of reprocessing nuclear fuel is as old as atomic energy. It began in the United States 35 years ago with the processing of plutonium for military use.

The Purex process is used worldwide in the few facilities where plutonium is produced. They include Sellafield, formerly Windscale, in England, La Hague in France and Tokai Mura in Japan.

All these facilities serve civil as well as military purposes.

Since accidents in the construction and operation of two facilities the United States has made do without reprocessing plant. In a country the size of America final storage is not the problem it is in Germany.

The Federal Republic has only a small-scale pilot plant in Karlsruhe that has been in use since 1971 and has so far processed about 170 tonnes of spent nuclear fuel.

Wackersdorf is designed to handle 350 tonnes a year, thereby roughly meeting the requirements of the 16 currently operational nuclear power stations in the country.

Capacity could be enlarged to 500 tonnes a year, probably making it possible to service all West German nuclear power stations until the year 2000.

Wackersdorf will be a crucial link in the nuclear fuel cycle. It will also be a crucial Achilles heel.

Fuel rods need replacing every three years; in practice one in three is replaced every year.

After three years the material in the rod has undergone such drastic changes that it can no longer be used to fuel the power reactor.

The chain reaction is based on uranium 235, a radioactive isotope that accounts for only 0.7 per cent of natural uranium. The remainder is uranium 238, which tends to be a hindrance in conventional light-water reactors.

So fuel is enriched to contain between 3 and 3.5 per cent of uranium 235. After three years in use its concentration is back down to between 0.6 and 0.8 per cent.

Uranium 235 is capable of harnessing the electrically uncharged particles, or neutrons, creating uranium 236, an unstable element that disintegrates into radioactive cesium, barium and other isotopes, releasing energy as it does so.

Two of three new neutrons are created too. They can split other uranium



A paddy-whack at Wackersdorf

(Photo: Sven Simon)

235 atoms, sustaining the chain reaction. Uranium 238 also absorbs a limited number of neutrons.

Uranium 238 doesn't split, however. It is converted into one of the many plutonium isotopes. After three years in use as a nuclear fuel one kilogram of uranium consists of 953 grams of uranium 238, about seven grams each of uranium 235 and plutonium and of 30 grams of a wide range of more or less radioactive fission products that make the fuel so "dirty" it can no longer sustain the chain reaction.

When spent fuel rods arrive from the reactor they are highly radioactive and release substantial remaining heat. They are stored in pools for seven years before being shipped to the reprocessing plant.

There three things happen. The mixed bag of 30 grams of fission products per kilogram is extracted. It is waste and must be treated for final storage.

Unlike spent nuclear fuel sent directly into final storage, this waste contains no plutonium. The plutonium is extracted during a further stage of reprocessing. The third stage consists of reconstituting nuclear fuel.

All in all a reprocessing facility is more a chemical works than a nuclear plant. The freshly delivered fuel rods are sawn apart by remote control at their head end and in sealed rooms, the pieces falling into a basket that is plunged into boiling nitric acid.

Uranium and fission products are separated from the zirconium alloy of the rod casing. Radioactive gases such as iodine 129 and the rare gases krypton and xenon are released into the exhaust fumes, which have to be purified in a complicated procedure.

At further chemical stages fission material, uranium and plutonium are separated from each other. At all stages waste occurs that is either toxic or radioactive or both and must either be recycled or stored.

That leaves uranium and plutonium. To be suitable for use as a nuclear fuel the uranium

must be so pure that it contains no more than one impure atom in 100,000. That is one reason why a rod can only complete the fuel cycle about three times. Reprocessing is then no longer worthwhile.

The uranium is enriched to between three and 3.5 per cent of uranium 235 and then used as fuel. It may also contain an admixture of plutonium which, like uranium 235, is capable of fission.

About two thirds of the uranium is left after enrichment. It will be set aside for use in the Kalkar fast breeder reactor (if it is ever completed) to breed plutonium and more nuclear fuel.

Small quantities of this uranium, which is a very heavy element, are already used as inexpensive ballast for ships or aircraft.

All stages of the reprocessing cycle are carefully monitored, the DWK says, to rule out both accidents and the theft of plutonium.

A number of possibly serious accidents that might occur if experience in other countries is any guide have been borne in mind in designing the Wackersdorf complex.

They are failure of cooling in the tanks where highly radioactive fission products are stored to cool off, chemical explosions of solvents and what is called a critical accident.

In Idaho the fuel in the solvent grew so concentrated that it went critical, and started to generate energy like a power reactor.

The mixture bubbled for several hours. A modern reprocessing facility must be prepared for this eventually even though containers are not shaped to prevent the fuel solution from going critical for any length of time.

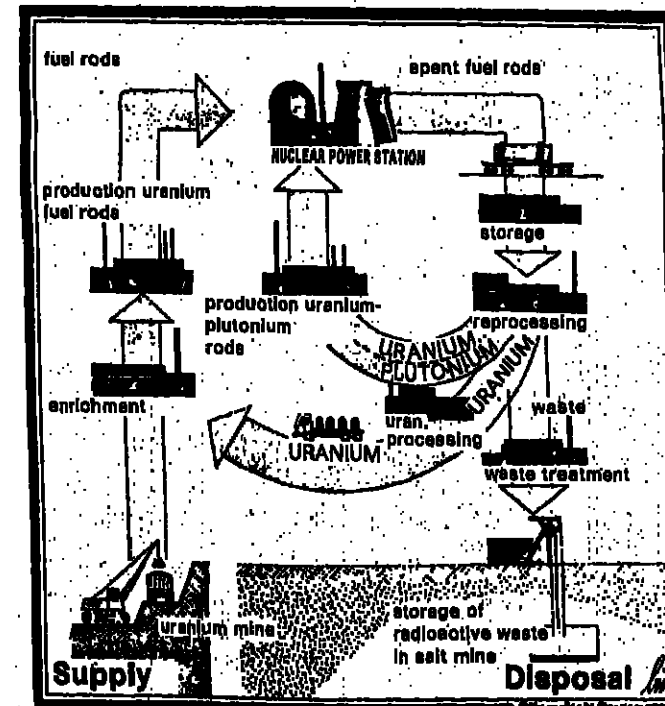
Another mishap, traffic accidents, is taken out of the question. Yet all the fuel rods from West German nuclear power stations must be shipped to Wackersdorf.

From Wackersdorf trucks will regularly set out with highly radioactive fission products for final storage facilities, such as Gorleben.

Fission material will be clad in molten glass and shipped in drums to a design that has been used for years.

International safety regulations specify that drums must be able to withstand a nine-metre fall or fire at temperatures of up to 800°C followed by immersion into water.

Rainer Klütting
(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 24 May 1986)



■ LIFE WITH THE FALLOUT

Doctors against nuclear war meet under the black cloud of Chernobyl

The first speaker at the congress of International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) to refer to Chernobyl was North Rhine-Westphalian Prime Minister Johannes Rau.

But he didn't mean to. In his opening speech, Rau, who is the SPD Shadow Chancellor, mentioned the Soviet moratorium on nuclear arms tests. But instead of saying "nuclear arms tests" he said "nuclear power tests".

His audience laughed but he had unintentionally raised the issue that clearly was preoccupying both him and others at the sixth international IPPNW congress in Cologne.

What, they wondered, are we going to do about peaceful uses of atomic energy? Can we, in the wake of Chernobyl, afford to oppose only military uses of the atom?

This issue was expected to split the gathering. German media, especially the right-wing variety, had almost cheerfully looked forward to a clash.

Small wonder that after only the first half-day's proceedings journalists from all over the world concentrated at the opening press conference on whether atomic energy would split the 1985 Nobel peace laureate.

They were disappointed. There were no sensations to report. Instead the two co-presidents, US cardiologist Bernard Lown and Soviet specialist Yevgeni

Chazov, sat peacefully side by side on the conference platform.

Neither had the slightest qualms about dealing with Chernobyl. They agreed that if only one of the 18,000 nuclear warheads stockpiled around the world were to explode the effect would be far worse than any damage Chernobyl had done.

IPPNW has 154,000 members in 55 countries. Representatives of a mere two, Switzerland and Ireland, have so far opposed harnessing atomic energy in any way.

Israel had no difficulty in tabling a motion at last year's IPPNW international council session in Budapest calling on the organisation to publicly support the peaceful use of atomic energy.

Since Chernobyl any such idea has been taboo and the wind has begun to blow from another quarter.

Many members, especially in Germany, have remembered that their commitment against nuclear war dates back to their days in the anti-nuclear power campaign.

Doctors who have never campaigned exclusively against nuclear war have for weeks felt they were right all along in

claiming the medical profession would be helpless and unable to help in either case.

There is nothing they can do if nuclear war is waged and nothing if a worst-case disaster happens at a nuclear power station. There is no cure for radioactive contamination.

Disaster medicine as championed by the General Medical Council is rejected by German IPPNW members. What, after all, can they do if a catastrophe happens?

Chernobyl alone has overtaken the health system of an entire country. The 19 bone marrow transplants had almost all proved pointless, Dr Chazov said in Cologne.

A civil radiation accident as described at the congress by Herbert Abrams of the Centre for International Security and Arms Control at Stanford University, California, rules out medical assistance.

He described the case of a young American who was temporarily exposed to a high level of radiation in a laboratory accident.

Initially his hands turned light red. Then they grew swollen. A few days later liquid seeped through his skin, his hair fell out and his fingers died. A month later he was dead.

What shape would the sufferings of atomic bomb victims take in a war in which no-one could be evacuated for medical treatment to an intact hinterland because there no longer was one?

"Macabre thought" if "may" sound, Chernobyl was pint-sized in comparison with what a nuclear winter would be like," said Hamburg doctor Till Bastian of the German IPPNW executive board.

He described a scenario drawn up by a General Medical Council committee in 1983 outlining opportunities of qualified medical assistance after 450 nuclear warheads had been dropped on Europe as hair-raising nonsense.

On IPPNW's behalf Bastian rejects ideas of disaster medicine on the outskirts of a nuclear war.

He accuses GMC president Karsten Vilmar, who supports preparing members of the profession for this contingency, of closing his eyes to the self-evident facts and giving eloquent testimony to being blind to them.

Small wonder the IPPNW and the General Medical Council are not on the best of terms. The GMC refused to attend the Cologne congress.

So did Chancellor Kohl, one of the few heads of government in East or West who refused to send a greeting or an encouraging message to Cologne.

On the Chancellor's behalf CDU general secretary Heiner Geissler told the congress that world peace was threatened not by the existence of nuclear weapons but by the clash between freedom and dictatorship.

Incorrigible opponents who would not have attended the congress in any case continue to call the IPPNW a Soviet-controlled propaganda forum.

There were no signs of any such tendency in Cologne. The keynote of the congress was a careful intercourse of one side with the other and mutual acceptance of supporters and opponents of atomic for peace.

The result of this cautious and considerate mutual behaviour was that supporters of a general nuclear ban suc-

ceeded without hue or cry in holding a last-minute gathering to air their views.

The German organisers were on their own in a platform debate attended by an audience of about 3,000 people.

Giesen psychoanalyst Horst-Eberhard Richter summarised the state of debate as follows:

"Only in the past four weeks have we been obliged to thoroughly reconsider a problem the significance of which we had previously not really grasped."

He proposed, with reference to Albert Schweitzer, trying to prevent nuclear power not by fighting missiles but by a new approach to life.

Others who took a less psychoanalytic view felt power politics was at stake and not what Richter rapped as slavish belief in the perfection of high tech.

In a resolution the gathering called on politicians to join forces worldwide in ensuring atomic energy was replaced by alternative energy resources.

The congress basically reflected the outlook of a small but all the more active minority of the medical profession, doctors determined not to be stark with fear but to be active in horror.

They refuse to help foster enemy profiles in society that provide a plausible pretext for a growing arms build-up.

They have understood that radiation is no respecter of frontiers and are thus keen to promote internationally a new respect for life, as Albert Schweitzer put it.

They somewhat proudly basked in the praise lavished on the congress by New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange, whose country has declared itself a nuclear-free zone.

The IPPNW doctors, he said, had made nuclear war just a little more improbable by virtue of their activity.

For four days life under the contrast threat of nuclear war was discussed at the trades fair grounds in Cologne.

The medical consequences of a nuclear warhead exploding were outlined in gruesome detail and precautionary measures and prevention strategies to avert the threat were discussed.

In the world at large it was business as usual, with the French reported to have carried out their largest-ever nuclear test on Mururoa Atoll in the South Pacific.

Nearer home, at the allegedly super-safe high-temperature Urentrop power reactor in Hamm, Westphalia, a radiation leak was said to have occurred early in May, just a few days after Chernobyl.

Ingrid Müller-Münch
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 2 June 1986)

Continued from page 11

"Who else should I play to if not to the public?" he always sincerely but naively asked.

Gobert could always count on general popularity, which mainly resulted from his performances in films during the fifties and sixties.

He was particularly popular in Hamburg. His last role there was as Higgins in *My Fair Lady*.

Before he left Hamburg the wife of former chancellor Helmut Schmidt gave him as laurel wreath, which always hung in his director-general's office for all to see.

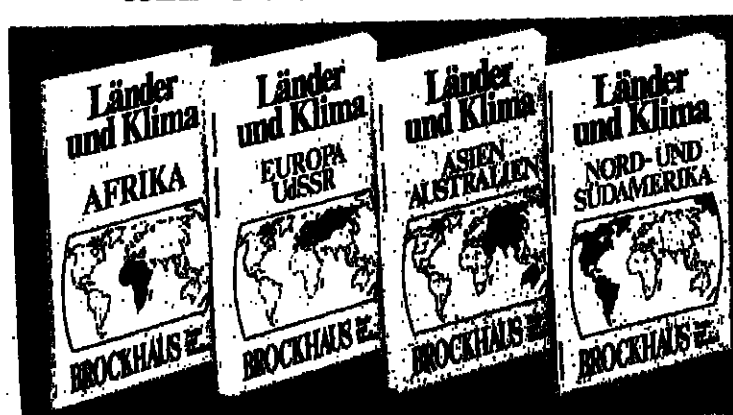
Gobert looked forward to taking over the directorship of the Theater in der Josefstadt in Vienna, which was to begin in September.

There must have been an appealing note to this appointment.

At long last, Gobert would have been able to live in his baroque house in the wine-growing region which he had so often referred to almost longingly in former years.

Peter Hans Göpfer
(Stuttgarter Nachrichten, 31 May 1986)

Meteorological stations all over the world



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■ FRONTIERS

Churches worried by trend away from the sermon in favour of the seance

Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger

Young people are turning in ever increasing numbers to spiritualist groups in an effort to make more sense of their lives.

Adherents say that neither science nor religion provide answers to vital questions.

Ouija boards are often used (reputedly "ouija" is coined from the respective French and German words for "yes", "oui" and "ja").

An ouija board has the letters of the alphabet displayed round the circumference. Participants sit around it in a circle and clasp their hands together over a glass in the centre.

Then the spirit is said to take over, guiding the glass to various letters and spelling out messages.

Psychologists say the hands dictate unintentionally what the unconscious dictates. They call it automatic writing.

Specialist observers say that the spiritualist wave is attracting pupils mostly from the upper forms of grammar-schools.

Düsseldorf, parapsychologist Egon Pfeiffer, believes that most of them make their first acquaintance with the supernatural at parties. He believes their need for guidance and leadership makes them particularly susceptible.

In Cologne, church authorities openly admit to apprehensions that the new "religiousness" may be developing at their expense.

Young people who have developed an interest in religious matters are searching for evidence of God and the hereafter.

Experts are having to admit that pushing glasses across an ouija board is more arresting than plodding through catechisms.

Alexandra Hofer (name changed) a 16 year-old school girl described spiritualism as being like a drug.

Her comment betrayed both a certain fear and fascination. One could sense that she was after excitement, an intensive awareness of life and is enticed by extraordinary phenomena.

She gave the impression of being easy to impress and to take in. In her own words she said her school was not doing much to provide an interesting alternative.

She went on to describe what a seance was like. She described how mirrors and other objects can suddenly reflect pale ghost-like forms.

She described a seance which took place at a friend's place in the Cologne area. The description could have been lifted from an English ghost-story, but she told it as if she were describing a Sunday excursion or a shopping expedition.

"Suddenly the light began to flicker and, as if by magic, the door suddenly locked."

Since this episode the friend's room has remained empty. Something has made the girl afraid of entering the room.

After the seance she spent many nights crying in bed and could not bring

herself to remain unaccompanied in a room.

Despite that Alexandra still intends to consult the ghost.

Her 19 year-old sister Claudia says: "after an hour-long sitting I later hear noises all over the place and cannot get to sleep."

But like her sister she has no intentions to give up spiritualism.

On the contrary she has built up her supernatural aids. One of them consists of a pen which is fastened to a tin box. After school when she and her spiritualist friends meet for a chat, she often takes out the box and tries to make contact with a spirit.

"If one really concentrates well, then the pen begins to write," she said.

Critics say such messages are often very phoney and rarely illuminating.

In contrast to her sister Claudia gives the impression of having her feet firmly on the ground.

Even when she spoke of her "hereafter" experiences she did not give the impression of being the withdrawn-from-the-world type.

During our conversations she claimed not only to have spoken to the dead but also to have conversed with God.

Claudia says she has believed in God as long as she can remember. Of course she admits to having had phases when she had her doubts. But now she feels secure in her faith. And nothing anyone can say to her, can weaken her convictions.

At school her dialogue with the supernatural is often the object of taunting.

She has particular problems in being taken seriously by young boys. Her boyfriend, for example, is worried about her. And has repeatedly expressed to her his fears that she could crack up.

Her parents, particularly her devoutly Catholic mother have their misgivings, but have not tried to interfere with her spiritualist practices.

Whenever Claudia is confronted by a difficult task she takes her pen in her hand and writes down advice from her ghost.

The contact with spirits can be put to use even in school or when filling in ap-

plications. Though it is admitted that not everyone is suitable for making contact.

Sometimes when many people take part in a seance an unsuitable participant unconsciously thwarts the proceedings.

When that happens, according to the strict rules of the game, the person must leave the room. For only then will the glass start to move again around the board.

Ghosts have allegedly displayed many other peculiarities. According to 17 year-old Frank, Oka, a ghost, "often takes us by the arm." The five seance-club members would appear to take such idiosyncrasies calmly in their stride, but all the same, as a precaution, they always ask whether any information given is indeed true.

Sometimes tips have turned out to be quite incorrect.

"Recently Frank blindly put his trust in a prediction of his spiritual companion which saw him getting a grade two in an examination, and dispensed with preparatory work for it. Unfortunately his teacher was of another opinion and gave him a poor mark. Such fiascos, however, have not dissuaded the group from their seance trip. Instead they stick to their views and defend themselves by asserting that they in no way push the glass."

Only one of the group was prepared to admit anything. Michael, 16 year-old apprentice said: "I have had the experience of people pushing the glass."

Spiritualism, which in the view of experts ranges from being a hobby to being a serious game, has not aroused such trust in every one who has indulged in it.

Many have let ghosts remain ghosts because of the contradictory nature of the messages.

Or because they quite simply have a communications breakdown.

Parapsychologists say that the content of such seances rarely offers anything which surpasses their own knowledge, and what is more are usually mere fragments.

Many others who decided to quit dabbling in the occult did so for the simple reason that the whole undertaking had become altogether much too weird.

Brigitte Peter

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 24 May 1986)



Hotline to Eternity

(Photo: Heinz Happ)

Priest's view

The growing interest of youth in the paranormal has not gone unnoticed by religious organisations.

Andreas Resch, Catholic theologian and one of the most respected international specialists on the outer fringes of science, has a lot to say about the matter.

Teenage fascination for the occult, he said "exists because it gives a feeling of guidance which they don't believe to be found anywhere else."

One could, he added, "say it is very flipping out and is probably an expression of discontent with the material sciences."

Resch, who is Professor of Church and Paranormal Psychology at the lateran University in Rome, makes no attempt to conceal the possibility that the formal stuffiness of the church's ritual might also be part of the explanation.

He said that the over-intellectualisation of the church has meant that the needs of young people for a total emotional experience have been neglected.

The Redemptorist priest runs a department for fringe science subjects in Innsbruck. And must take credit for the fact that his church is at present more cautious of decrying anything which it does with spiritualism.

The church has realised that interest in extraterrestrial phenomena does not have to mean a turning away from religion. On the contrary involvement in transcendental and parapsychological affairs could increase interest in the transcendental side of Christianity which has its own significant tradition.

Tens of thousands of young people, said Resch "are on a spiritual trip which has many different faces."

Anything, he added, "which has the remotest spiritual ring to it is an instant attraction."

One can observe such pulling-power also in christian meditation circles. Such enthusiasm is not necessarily expressed to delight the church hierarchy.

In these groups, said Resch, "people experience an unfolding of dimensions which are normally inaccessible to them. They gain a certain psychological outlet but at the same time, run the risk of losing touch with reality."

Resch is well aware of the mechanism of attraction which exerts influence on the participants. Young people, he says, "who want to find some sense in their lives are attracted to spiritualism because, with its diverse rituals, it offers an opportunity to participate actively in this search."

Behaviour of this sort is essentially bound up with a primal phenomenon of wanting to transcend one's own body and self.

However, Resch stresses the need to view "in a more serious light practices which are not for a temporary nature. Usually the wearisome nature of the different skills involved causes a level of saturation to be reached."

However if young people start taking seriously whatever messages they have allegedly received, and then base important decisions on this information, the hocus pocus can then become quite dangerous.

Apart from that, meddling with altered states of consciousness is a risky undertaking. Resch knows of several cases where people, as when under hypnosis, drifted out of control owing to the influence of some inner force.

Harald Biskup

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, Cologne, 24 May 1986)

■ AROUND THE COURTS

Charges allege pay slips forged, stolen goods resold in big department store

Frankfurter Rundschau

Six employees of a major department store are facing charges of forging overtime pay vouchers and avoiding tax on the embezzled money.

The prosecution says that more evidence will reveal the involvement of both police and store detectives in reselling stolen goods, evading tax and illegal distribution and use of discount cards.

It is estimated that 635,000 marks is owed in tax. The total amount involved in the various allegations comes to several million.

One prosecution involves goods stolen from other major department stores, recovered in private raids by shop detectives on suspects' homes, and sold at a discount to Karstadt staff.

Already one key witness, a store detective, has been transferred to another job: he will be giving evidence against the police.

The store is the Cologne branch of Karstadt, one of the biggest store chains in Germany. The prosecution says the case began in 1981, when renovation work was carried out. Some of the work had to be done at night so members of the store staff were called in for special night-watchman duties.

The overtime worked should have been paid into the salaries computer as being liable for tax. It wasn't.

Some of the staff involved were senior men who normally were not able to work overtime. So on this occasion they

were keen to cash in by not paying tax. Because Karstadt's policy was to cut personnel costs as much as possible, it was decided to work the deception by using an old trick: putting the money down not as wages but as costs of material.

To keep the ploy nice and quiet, names were invented and embellished with false signatures.

One employee claimed, says the prosecutor, that he didn't know enough people to borrow the names from — so he used the telephone book.

One of the accused was head of the ledger department.

The prosecution says that from time to time another went to a Karstadt warehouse outside Cologne to do stock-taking and then charged up the overtime to a materials account. He is accused of getting 100,000 marks.

Another accused allegedly spent his overtime with his girlfriend.

The public prosecutor says there is no proof that management knew about the falsified payment vouchers. But two managers have been charged with tax evasion.

The scandal came to light through a store detective. He has some delicate information against, among others, members of the police. In view of his position, he has been given an ex gratia payment and now works elsewhere.

Evidence against some members of the Cologne police force indicates that some were issued with discount cards which enabled them to buy cheaply at Karstadt.

In return for cheap shopping, policemen gave store detectives tips about the credit-worthiness of customers or whether someone had been in trouble with the police.

Crime squad officers and security men were at times used as extra shop

detectives when the store was open all day, says the prosecutor. But the pay was not declared for tax.

One police officer working on his own initiative had broken into a woman's house to try and get evidence for a conviction for shop-lifting.

The public prosecutor's office could

not believe some of the things its investigations revealed: for example, it discovered that Karstadt was selling merchandise from its big competitors, Hertie and Kaufhof — not openly, but with a discount to staff members.

Karstadt detectives obtained the goods in their own private searches of houses of suspected shoplifters. Some of the booty had been stolen from Karstadt but a lot was also from the other stores. It all went back to Karstadt.

It is being alleged that people in high places in Karstadt knew about the traffic in stolen goods.

dpa
(Frankfurter Rundschau, 26 May 1986)

Man mistaken for burglar and shot dead

A 57-year-old businessman was shot dead by police at night in his home at Zorneding in Upper Bavaria. The police believed he was a burglar.

A woman in Zorneding had telephoned the police and said there was a burglar in her neighbour's house. Three police patrol cars were sent to investigate.

Three police officers climbed onto the balcony and, according to their statements, called out quite clearly that they were the police. As there was no reply from the supposed burglar, a police officer shone a lamp into the room beyond the balcony door.

Then suddenly a pistol was fired, and the police saw a gun flash in their direction. Two police officers returned the fire with their service revolvers.

They then heard cries for help from inside the house. They found the married man dead by the balcony door. A gas pistol lay beside him.

The cries for help came from his wife. Investigations so far reveal that the exchange of shots came about from a misunderstanding. Both sides thought the other side was a burglar.

dpa
(Kieler Nachrichten, 20 May 1986)

Tripwire shots plot goes badly wrong

A pensioner tried to kill his neighbour, with whom he had been at loggerheads for years, in an unusual way.

The 75-year-old man, living near Augsburg, built two self-firing pistol devices into a shed they shared.

When his victim, aged 34, entered the shed to fetch a ladder, without knowing

DER TAGESSPIEGEL

it he let off the pistols that were connected to the ladder by a wire.

The 6mm bullet missed by a hair's breadth and ended up in the wall.

Police arrested the pensioner in his home, and he was sent to remand prison pending investigations by order of a judge.

The pensioner wanted to get the young man who shared the shed with him off his back, he confessed. The pensioner has a lot of technical knowledge.

When police searched the shed they found another self-firing pistol device in a drawer.

dpa
(Der Tagesspiegel, Berlin, 10 May 1986)

Bankers' pub pint puts paid to tax man's 7m-mark swindle

A chance meeting of two bank managers turned out to be the undoing of a Hamburg tax inspector who tried to get away with nearly seven million marks.

The accused, a 28-year-old, pleaded guilty to a fraud of 6.7 million marks and was jailed for three and a half years.

He said that his act was a mad idea that came to him because he was frustrated.

His career had been unimpeachable, from passing the university entrance examination, *Abitur*, to a job with the police and then the tax office, where he was quickly promoted because of his ability.

His plan developed when he had to examine tax declarations in a well-to-do Hamburg suburb.

He discovered how well-off people tried to reduce their tax by sending money overseas and by manipulation.

He earned only DM2,000 a month. He had the feeling that everyone helped themselves, got away with millions and

laughed up their sleeves at the authorities.

The standard joke among his fellow tax officials was how easy it would be to transfer cash to one's own account. He had taken this seriously.

He paid a distant relative living in the Hamburg red-light district of St Pauli DM4,500 for false identity papers in the name of Wolfgang Kranach, and opened a bank account in this name.

He then falsified tax declarations in the name of Mr and Mrs Kranach for the period from 1981 to 1984 so that they were eligible for a tax rebate of DM6.9m.

To avoid having to feed information into a computer, he chose an example of tax returns which was required to be processed by hand.

He divided up the tax rebates into

small sums for the couple "who were arguing about inheritance," he told other inspectors.

"I knew that refunds below a million were inconspicuous." He processed the repayments through the computer to the accountant at the Hamburg central office. The sums were transferred to the Kranachs' account.

He then opened four other accounts in his own name and in his wife's name to which he transferred about DM6m. He gave DM900,000 to his close relation in St Pauli. The money has not been recovered.

He explained his sudden wealth to colleagues by claiming to have had a big win in the state lottery.

The deception came to light by accident. His bank was delighted with its new customer and urged him to invest his millions.

Then two bank managers met one night for a beer and, by chance the subject came up, one manager had a new customer with a lot of money to invest.

Well, now. How about that! The other manager had also a new and wealthy customer of the same name.

Their suspicions were naturally aroused and they went to the police.

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